THE NEW REPUBLIC

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The World Needs Our Help

ACCORDING to present estimates, 140 million people are hungry and homeless in Europe, 84 million in China and 130 million in Southeast Asia. If millions of men, women and children the world over should die this winter of hunger, cold and disease, the responsibility will lie, to a large extent, with the Congress, the President *and the people* of the United States. The bitter truth is that few of us seem to know of, understand or care about the disastrous consequences of the war in the ravaged countries of Europe and Asia. Unless we put *all* the effort we are capable of into the rehabilitation and reconstruction of these countries, our failure will weigh heavily in the scales of history.

When the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration was set up in 1943, it was hoped that the average European nutrition level, for instance, could be stabilized at 2,650 calories. Since the end of the war in Europe this estimate has been scaled down to 2,000 calories—UNRRA's aim today. But the actual average for various countries within UNRRA's sphere will be far below this level in the winter months. In Italy and Greece, for instance, it will be only 1,400 calories; in Rumania, 1,500; in Bulgaria, 1,600. In other countries, the level for the urban population will be even lower: in Finland, for instance, 1,000 calories, and in Poland 1,000 to 1,100. In the inaccessible mountain areas of southern Yugoslavia the level is expected to be about 1,000 calories, although it will be somewhat higher in the northern plains. Compared with these countries, the self-paying nations of Western Europe will be better off. But the level in former enemy countries—Germany and Japan—and China can only be a matter of speculation.

To illustrate, here are some additional facts and figures. In Poland, of almost ten million head of cattle in 1939, only five and a half million are left. In Italy, the annual prewar sugar production of 530,000 tons is down to 50,000. Five thousand persons in Vienna die monthly from tuberculosis. In the Ukraine, 15 million people are homeless. In Greece, the 1945 wheat crop is 55 percent of normal. In Yugoslavia, 75 percent of adults and 90 percent of children have no footwear. In Slovakia, 95 percent of bridges, culverts and tunnels are destroyed. In the countries of Western Europe which are not cared for by UNRRA (France, Belgium, the Netherlands), the production of fats and oil is down 45 percent; meat, 40; grain, 33; and potatoes, 20.

These figures are only examples. They cannot describe the real human misery in the world of today. But they may serve to emphasize that whatever contributions are made by the more fortunate nations, their aid is just a drop in the bucket. This is particularly true of the two-year quota of one percent of national income in 1943 which its member nations contribute to UNRRA. On the basis of China alone, with estimated relief needs of $5 billion, UNRRA's biennial budget of $2 billion is hopelessly inadequate.

It is against this background that the almost criminally dilatory relief activities of this country must be

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judged. Of all the chief contributors to UNRRA, we are the only country which still owes a major share of its current quota. The major blame rests squarely on Congress. And within Congress not only the reactionaries and isolationists, who tried to hamstring the remaining $550 million with the so-called "free-press" and "parity" riders, are to blame, but also UNRRA's friends who, with some few exceptions, did very little to get the appropriation out of the House and Senate committees. Although the appropriation is now ready for passage, there is imminent danger that UNRRA's enemies may again try to append these riders.

These riders would be most unfortunate, both politically and economically. That of the "free press," obviously directed against the USSR and Soviet-controlled countries, would have the effect of aggravating already strained relations and would make relief a political football. The "parity" rider, offered by Senator Thomas of Oklahoma, would not only have limited the purchase of farm products to those from the United States, but would also have meant that they might have to be bought at higher than market prices. Only the greatest watchfulness of UNRRA's friends can prevent the reappearance of both riders in the final appropriation.

Unfortunately, even the advocates of greater and more speedy relief do not seem very enthusiastic or well informed about the operations of UNRRA. When one obstructionist Senator recently mentioned something to the effect that UNRRA *even* sold supplies to the government of Greece, which in turn sold them to Greek farmers, not a single member of the Appropriations Committee set him right on the fact that UNRRA is not a charitable enterprise, but operates like any other business organization. Except for Senator Vandenberg and Representative Sol Bloom, none of the supporters of UNRRA has rebelled strongly enough against the congressional delay which is actually condemning thousands of men, women and children to death every day it continues.

Although this country's second biennial quota of $1,350 million has now been authorized, the fight against appropriation will be savage in the months after Christmas. In contrast to our record, the British Parliament has already appropriated Britain's second quota of $300 million, and Canada has resumed meat rationing in order to make possible the export of meat to the needy countries. Congressional opposition to UNRRA will probably demand our withdrawal from this world organization and the setting up of an exclusively American relief agency, on the ground that inasmuch as we carry the major relief burden, we should run relief activities. It will be argued that UNRRA is inefficient and has failed to do its job.

It is true that UNRRA's operation has not been so economical and efficient as one might wish. It is also true that its activities in Europe have been impeded by politics. Many British members on UNRRA's staff have been retired army officers who lack sufficient experience and any real understanding of Europe's relief needs. Poles on its staff, opposed to the Warsaw government, are known to have agitated against the resettlement of their displaced countrymen. Administrative confusion undoubtedly exists. But the remedy is not to scrap this world organization, but completely to reorganize it. Such reorganization is already under way in Germany, and it may be necessary in Washington. But to set up an exclusive American relief agency would be sheer folly. It would not only antagonize other nations and undermine the idea of world organization in other fields, but would take months, at a time when every day and every hour counts. UNRRA must and can do the job.

It is easy to put all the blame on Congress for the delay in aiding a war-ravaged world, but the Administration is far from guiltless. Although President Truman has made a number of public statements in favor of speeding up the long overdue first appropriation and the very badly needed second one, neither the White House nor the State Department has put enough steam behind UNRRA. The President has authorized the Department of Agriculture and the War Production Board to grant priorities to UNRRA, but in effect this policy has had little value. For instance, of the 1,211,000 tons of beet, cane and raw sugar that constitute our supply for this quarter, civilians are getting 982,000 tons, while UNRRA gets only 19,000. Much of the sugar allocated for civilians goes to the inessential soft-drink industry.

At a reception on September 17, Mr. Truman is reported to have substituted the word "hunger" for "starvation," and to have declared that some of the "hungry" didn't do things for themselves but "waited like birds to be fed." If the President of the United States is so unsympathetic to UNRRA's relief activities, it is not surprising that his lieutenants, in charge of pushing UNRRA appropriations in Congress, are less forceful than is requisite. If the Administration does not give the proper leadership, it is only natural for Congress to dawdle along. A vigorous relief program is as urgent as, if not more so than, President Roosevelt's emergency program for this country in 1933. But it will take more than a routine performance on the part of the Administration to stir Congress out of its leisurely ways.

Ultimately, however, it is the American people who will be responsible. Many organizations are exerting influence, but the task is too big for them. On the other hand, selfish pressure groups such as the American food industry are spreading false propaganda. According to the New York *Times* of November 24, their spokesmen "point out that it is possible for the European nations to exaggerate their needs for scarce foodstuffs, whereas if American manufacturers were

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consulted, they might be able not only to protect the consumer here, but show that the demand is too large."

The food manufacturers would not dare to spread such nonsense if the American people were ready to tighten their belts. The American people have only a vague idea of the terrible situation that the war has created throughout the world. The world's needs are far greater than UNRRA's small budget can fill. The American people must realize that this country cannot continue to be an island of prosperity if the rest of the world is wrecked by the consequences of the war we helped to win.

Our Choice in China

THE RESIGNATION of General Hurley as United States Ambassador to China has brought into clear public focus the most important and most dangerous situation confronting American diplomacy today. Nowhere else on earth are our actions so completely a test of our principles. Nowhere else is a present mistake charged with such serious consequences for the future.

General Hurley claims that he went to China only to carry out American official policy, that he tried hard to do this, and that he was blocked by various people in the State Department who were secret sympathizers with communism in general and the Chinese communists in particular. But there is ample evidence that this charge is false. The people whom General Hurley attacks are not communists. They are the believers in American democracy, who want the quarreling factions in China to unite in a compromise coalition regime for the future welfare of that country and the world. Numerous witnesses who are in a position to know say that Mr. Hurley has made his own policy, paying scant attention to the directives received from successive Presidents and Secretaries of State. He is violently anti-Russian and a wholehearted supporter of Chiang Kai-shek.

When Hurley first came to Chungking, he purged the American embassy there of everybody known or suspected to be in favor of compromise and conciliation in China. Some of these men, however, have since been placed by the State Department in positions in which they can continue to influence policy decisions on China, and Hurley is deeply resentful of this fact. He is also resentful of the rising tide of public opinion in the United States against using American troops and war materials to help Chungking to exterminate the so-called Chinese communists of Yenan. There has been far too great sacrifice of American lives and materials in this undeclared war which we should and could have prevented, instead of backing one side; but there has been much less active American participation than General Hurley and those who share his views would, obviously, have liked to see.

The issue was forced when General Wedemeyer asked, a short time ago, for a specific statement of an American policy in China by which he could guide his actions. General Hurley went to Secretary Byrnes to demand that this statement should consist of unqualified support of Chiang Kai-shek. But Secretary Byrnes, whatever his personal views may be, realizes that American participation in the Chinese civil war is violently unpopular here at home, and declined to make any such definite promise. It seems clear that Mr. Hurley did not intend to resign when he left Mr. Byrnes's office after that interview. But later, thinking it over, he saw that the jig was up. The American people will not stand for pouring out American blood and treasure in a war to perpetuate Chiang Kai-shek's regime. Hurley, therefore, decided to resign, but to do as much damage as he could on his way out.

President Truman's prompt action in persuading General Marshall to take the job was a shrewd political counter-stroke. Marshall, as Chief of Staff in a war which has just come to a triumphant conclusion, at least in its military phase, stands very high with the American people. He showed real courage in his prompt acceptance of a thankless job where he has much to lose and, from his own point of view, perhaps little to gain. On the other hand, if he can restore and maintain peace in the Orient, not only the United States but the whole world will owe him a debt of gratitude.

That Hurley is out of Chungking is an unmixed blessing. In view of his attitude and actions, almost any successor would be an improvement. General Marshall is handicapped by the fact that he is ignorant of the ways of diplomacy and of the political problems of the Far East. On the other hand, he is reported to be a warm admirer of General Stilwell, whose policy always was to insist that any American aid given to Chiang Kai-shek should be used in fighting the Japanese, and not other Chinese. General Marshall could do no better today than to take the advice and follow the example of Stilwell.

Already, the Hurley statement is being used by people in this country to grind their own axes. The Republicans are seizing upon it as propaganda to discredit President Truman and the Democratic Party. General Hurley himself, incidentally, is a Republican formerly active in the national organization of that party, and some people in Washington believe that he has personal political ambitions.

But far more serious, the Hurley statement is being used by the conservatives of both parties as the excuse for a witch-hunting "investigation" of liberals in the State Department and an attempted purge. Already, Congress is preparing for an inquiry which, unless public opinion is brought to bear to stop it, will be an attempt to discover and root out all the progressive elements in the Department which are not prepared to participate in a crusade to make the world safe for that

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conservatism which so easily and rapidly turned into fascism in Germany, Italy and Japan. An investigation of the State Department is highly desirable; the *New Republic* has been urging one for years. But it should be an honest investigation intended to answer the question why in the past the Department has so consistently and repeatedly followed policies opposed by the majority of the American people, policies which afterward proved not to have been in our national interest. Such a study should be conducted by a congressional committee not obviously committed in advance to an attitude like that of Martin Dies. It should be a committee with a competent staff of technical advisers, which will take time enough to do a thorough job. Its recommendations should look toward creating a State Department capable of protecting America diplomatically and fostering world coöperation amid the desperate dangers of the atomic age.

Meanwhile, China will remain the touchstone of peace or war. Whether we like it or not, America holds the balance of power in that country. We can use our influence, spending American money and lives in the effort, to ensure the temporary success of Chiang in crushing all opposition, thereby making more certain, and sooner, the day when all Asia will burst into flames. Or we can use our power, in coöperation with Britain and the Soviet Union, to insist that the Chinese civil war be ended, that a coalition regime be set up, and that China start now and not five or ten years hence, on the long hard road toward economic and political democracy. It is for us to choose.

The Story of Pearl Harbor

REPUBLICAN MEMBERS of the committee investigating Pearl Harbor would make a better showing before the nation if they took less advice on strategy from John T. Flynn and others of the prewar isolationist wing. The fact is, the "Roosevelt-started-the-war" thesis is falling flat on its face as the proceedings continue.

The klieg-lighted inquiry is turning up ample evidence of faulty military judgment and failure of Army and Navy intelligence to assess correctly the Japanese threat in 1941. It is manufacturing plenty of ammunition for the advocates of Army-Navy merger. But the isolationists who whooped up the demand for the "real truth about Pearl Harbor" and so loudly insinuated that there was, not mistake and miscalculation, but a deliberate, malevolent White House invitation to disaster, are not finding what they are looking for.

Of course one would not hope to glean this from the isolationist press, whose special writers and analysts are daily interpreting the leading questions of Republican committeemen Gearhart and Keefe to show that Roosevelt actually "baited the trap" at Pearl Harbor with the American fleet, that Roosevelt and Churchill cast the die for war at their Atlantic Charter conference, and that Secretary Hull's ten-point memorandum of November 26, 1941, was actually a fiery ultimatum.

Quite apparently, Republican Chairman Brownell and other GOP high strategists were persuaded last summer that here was the great opportunity, whether or not the anti-Roosevelt charges could be proved, to weave an atmosphere of suspicion, disillusionment and distrust of the Roosevelt Administration which would harm and hamper the Democratic Party from here on in, right up to election day, 1948. As for the effect of this poisoning of public opinion on America's future conduct as a world power—well, after all, "politics is politics," or isn't it?

Many Republicans in Congress are refusing to go along with the smear campaign, but it may as well be noted that Mr. Flynn and other isolationists are continuing to supply Republican committee members with ready-made strategy and key questions, with the National Committee lending a hand whenever possible. With the control of atomic energy, unemployment and a dozen other major issues confronting Congress, the committee has wasted two of its three weeks trying to make the "ultimatum" charge stick. Thanks, however, to Cordell Hull and his incontrovertible testimony, the record is still pretty straight.

Testimony shows that the United States was not, with Machiavellian strategy, suddenly opposing Japan with new, impossible and illegitimate demands in 1941. Rather does the record reveal that Japan's dominant militarists had decided on a course of expansion and aggression in the Far East which was threatened only by the historic free-trade, open-door, China-aid policies of the United States. Mr. Hull has made crystal clear that Japan sent Special Envoy Kurusu to Washington, not to work for peace, but for the explicit purpose of persuading the United States to withdraw from the Far East.

Japan, in short, sought to win by diplomatic means what she was prepared to seize by force of arms if diplomacy failed. Testimony fresh from General MacArthur's interrogators in Tokyo reveals that when Japan presented her own so-admitted "ultimatum" of November 20, 1941, which demanded a showdown, the Nipponese carrier force which was to strike Pearl Harbor on December 7, already had assembled at Hippokatu Bay. The United States could have avoided war, for at least a few months, by giving Japan the oil which her ultimatum demanded, and by halting our assistance to China—in short by surrendering East Asia, the East Indies, the Philippines and Australia to Tokyo's warlords. No President aware of the deadly peril of Axis world ambitions would have dared capitulate to this blackmail.

At long last the committee is now delving into the really crucial question: Why was Pearl Harbor caught

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with its defenses down when Japanese torpedo planes roared out of the skies that fateful Sunday morning? Here the innuendo is that a "strange combination of circumstances"—to use the words of Representative Gearhart—cleared the path of the Japanese striking force and immobilized American defenses; that President Roosevelt, knowing of the Japanese attack hours or days in advance, purposely withheld this information from the commanders at Hawaii.

The full record is not in, but the evidence thus far indicates nothing of the sort. Rather did the staggering Japanese success result from Tokyo's own diabolical cunning—espionage kept it informed of every warship movement in and out of Pearl Harbor—and from American failure to conceive that "such things could happen." Meanwhile Washington's own splendid achievement in solving the Japanese "ultra" code was faultily exploited. Testimony has shown:

1. That the Army chief of intelligence, General Miles, thought the Navy's critical warning to Admiral Kimmel at Hawaii—that Japanese consulates were burning their codes—was also transmitted to General Short, the Army commander. In fact, it was not. Washington assumed an Army-Navy liaison which did not exist at Hawaii.

2. Although Navy intelligence had lost track of a Japanese carrier force somewhere in the Pacific, and although Army war games often had envisaged the possibility of a Japanese air-sea strike against Hawaii, Army intelligence estimates failed to list Hawaii as a possible objective of Japanese attack in 1941, even though listing Siberia, Malaya, Thailand, the Philippines and the Dutch East Indies.

3. General Short, when warned of possible hostile action in a November 27 message from General Marshall, Chief of Staff, ordered only the mild anti-sabotage alert for Hawaii. Yet the War Department failed to advise him this was insufficient, apparently because his report on action taken was held up in the wrong Army office in Washington.

It is vital that the nation hear the accurate story of those final days. It is important to know, for instance, what happened Sunday morning, December 7, after an alert officer, decoding a crucial intercepted Japanese message advising that negotiations were to be formally breached at one p.m., Washington time, realized this meant sunrise, Hawaiian time—an ideal moment for air attack. It is important that the blame now resting heavily on the shoulders of Admiral Kimmel and General Short be either permanently affixed or lightened.

Yet an impartial, honest investigation cannot result when some Republican committee members, under the tutelage of hate politics, use the investigation as a sounding board and frame every third question for its political implications; and when, reacting to the deadly charges, the Democratic members are driven in self-defense to protect witnesses.

Thirty-nine younger Republican congressmen, eschewing the committee bickering and brawling, have urged that the only purpose of the Pearl Harbor investigation should be "to bring all the facts to light." Republican strategists, in and out of Congress, might heed this statement. Republican Senator Ferguson's demand for original documents, his search for new data and his sharp questions are understandable; no one wants evidence warmed over from the previous Roberts report and the Army and Navy investigations. But there is a vast difference between this scrutiny and the daily insinuations.

The public wants a thorough, non-political investigation, difficult as this may be. It is not getting it. It would be ironic if the Pearl Harbor inquiry boomeranged on the GOP—if the late President Roosevelt, vindicated, accomplished the impossible in 1948 by defeating the Republican Party for the fifth time.

World Government in Practice

WHEN ERNEST BEVIN said in the House of Commons that in an atomic age, national sovereignty must be merged in a genuine international government, and when he was seconded by Anthony Eden, who also recommended the abolition of the veto power by a single member of the UNO Council, the world heard the first recommendation of real federalism on the part of responsible statesmen of any of the great nations. The project has, of course, received a good deal of strong approval from advanced groups in Britain, the United States and other countries. Has the formation of a world government with a democratic legislature and executive now become a matter for practical action?

It is easy to say "we must—or else," but more difficult to know how to proceed or to provide enough competence for such a government so that it can be anything more than the formal expression of a high aim.

The same Ernest Bevin now sanctions military cooperation with the Dutch government in using not only

Werner, in the Chicago Sun

Which?

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Indian but Japanese troops to shoot down Indonesians fighting for democracy and independence. He replies to American critics that this activity is under United Nations authority and that the British commander in the area gets his orders from General MacArthur. Anthony Eden would doubtless have taken the same course had he been in power.

The United States Government, which is one of the chief spokesmen for democracy on an international scale, is accused of bungling and lack of direction in its unilateral attempt to introduce democracy in Japan. Its troops are actively supporting the Kuomintang dictatorship in China, as against the proposal for a unified democratic system. These incidents are not simply evidences of bad faith; they are examples of the difficulty of making and executing properly good governmental policies from a central authority over large and distant areas of the earth. If even such experienced and convinced governments as those of Britain and the United States can go so far astray in important practical matters, what assurance have we that a world government with supreme authority would be a bulwark of peace and freedom?

These reflections should not lead to pessimism about the project of world unity, which is so necessary in principle. Obviously, we must immediately delegate some sovereignty to a UNO agency with power to police the use of atomic energy. In a longer term, we must work toward international government of other matters also. But it is clear that if we are to succeed, we must do more than utter noble principles. We must develop the ability to handle the intricate and difficult problems which are involved.

Not the least of these is the cultivation of democracy in many of the states which must be represented in the federal legislature. No such legislature can be given much power so long as the principle of representation is equal voting for all existing nations, whether great or small. But, assuming that an acceptable principle of representation could be worked out, how could we compose a democratic assembly in which a non-democratic China and Russia could probably outvote Britain, the United States and all the democracies of Western Europe? What should be done about the great areas of Latin America which, though enjoying democratic constitutions, do not have the substance of free citizenship or the economic and cultural means to exercise it? Finally, is there not some way to introduce democracy of a genuine character to the vast colonial populations, instead of shooting them when they demand it?

Muddle in Germany

Day by day, the utter failure of Allied policy toward Germany, and American policy in particular, becomes more apparent. The United States, Great Britain, France and Russia are working largely at cross purposes; and even within our own zone, we are pursuing simultaneously half a dozen contradictory and incompatible policies. What we ought to do seems reasonably clear: we should punish the Nazis, destroy their power and make sure that Germany's war potential is abolished for all time. We should also, however, give the non-Nazi Germans a chance for life, so that the country does not become one vast, permanent slum infecting all Europe. But instead of this, what do we find? We find American civilian and military personnel who never were and are not now convinced anti-fascists, continuing to keep Nazis in important jobs. We find American businessmen, masquerading as members of AMG, protecting German industries which were formerly partners of their own, even when these industries have cartel affiliations and are definitely part of the German war machine. We find slack discipline among American soldiers, resulting in actions which, as a United States intelligence report remarked this week, are causing a rising tide of hatred of Americans among German civilians that is ominous for the future.

Byron Price, former head of the Associated Press and director of the Office of Censorship, just spent ten weeks in Germany and has now made a report to President Truman which is a curious mingling of right and wrong. Obviously, he is right when he says that we must get food into Germany to minimize the starvation that will take place this winter. He is also right when he says we must give the Germans something to hope for and a basis for ultimate self-respect. He seems to us wrong when he insists that France is primarily responsible for the fact that Germany is not allowed to function as a whole even as to communications; France could not maintain this policy for a day against the united opposition of the Big Three. He is wrong in saying that the Germans cannot survive on less than 2,000 calories a day; during the war whole nations under the German yoke survived at a far lower level. And finally, he is dead wrong in saying that we should slow down the pace of denazification. On the contrary, at any cost, that pace should be speeded up.

Labor-Management Relations

Labor and management are not yet ready to agree on the need for higher wages without price increases, on means of arbitrating disputes when contracts have expired, on the process and scope of fact-finding to illuminate these issues, on discipline under contracts and other issues. They did, in their Washington conference, agree on collective bargaining with genuine unions, on adjustment of disputes arising under contracts and on minor matters. They separated, not in anger but with the understanding that it might be possible to make more progress after some of the disagreements had been thrashed out in the field of action.

Disappointing as this outcome is, it underlines the progress in labor's status which has been registered in the past quarter-century. In 1919, President Wilson

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called a similar conference. Among the "representatives of the public" were Judge Elbert H. Gary, chairman of U. S. Steel, and John D. Rockefeller. The employers insisted that collective bargaining include bargaining with company unions, and of course no agreement was reached. The conference broke up over the employers' refusal to back arbitration of the great steel strike, then in progress. Management's attitude was taken as a declaration of war against unionism. A nationwide "open-shop" campaign followed. Automobiles, steel and other basic industries had to wait years for unionization, and great strikes, fought to protect the very existence of labor organization, had occurred or were soon to occur in railroads, steel, coal and many other fields.

Tax Policy

With most of what William Withers says in his article, "Tax Policy: Back to 1929," on page 787 of this issue, we are in agreement. There is little intelligent fiscal planning behind the new tax reduction. If the reduction is advisable, it should have relieved lower incomes more, profits less. Yet Mr. Withers himself is perhaps taking a long shot by putting his money on deflation and increasing unemployment in 1945.

For the time being we are seeing, and shall continue to see, conflicting tendencies. As peacetime production grows, employment will increase, but at the same time, as the armed forces are demobilized, unemployment will increase. In some markets, shortages will bring higher prices; in others, surpluses will force prices down. Whether in the course of the year either general inflation or general deflation will take hold is extremely difficult to predict. Governmental fiscal policy should be ready with more spending if the main course is downward; it should also be ready to check too rapid an expansion of purchasing power.

At the moment, rising prices seem to us the more likely. Reconversion, in the technical sense, has been rapid. Employment has suffered less than was expected, and is now rising. Retail sales continue at the war level or above. Even if people are not spending their billions of war savings, they seem to be spending a larger percentage of their current income than in recent years. It is quite possible that before 1945 is over, income will be sufficient to buy, at existing prices, all that can then be produced. The real danger of deflation may lie several years in the future.

Full Employment

The next two weeks will decide the fate of the full-employment bill which President Truman has asked Congress to pass. The House Expenditures Committee is finally completing its long-drawn-out hearings and is expected to send a substitute to the floor which will not measure up to the original Murray-Patman bill in any important respect. The basic principle of the original bill was that the government should underwrite full employment. By its terms, the government accepted responsibility for assuring full employment and for creating the necessary machinery to bring it about. The substitute bill fathered by Chairman Carter Manasco and his reactionary committee contains none of this. It vaguely approves "high-level employment" and loans and public works as a means of obtaining it.

The members of the House of Representatives have a chance to change this weak substitute on the floor if they sincerely favor jobs for all. Labor and progressive lobbyists have been pounding Capitol corridors for weeks to make sure that liberal members are prepared to fight for strengthening amendments. If this move fails, there is a last chance in the conference committee. Under congressional rules, this committee could write a completely new bill for submission to the two Houses, since the measure put before the House is completely different from that passed by the Senate. Pressure directed at these two points is still needed. Have you written your letters for full employment?

Käthe Kollwitz Is Dead

News has come from Germany that Käthe Kollwitz, one of the few German artists widely admired and exhibited in this country, died some few weeks ago at the age of 78 in a small town in the Harz Mountains. It must have been a great satisfaction to her that she lived long enough to witness the collapse of the Nazi regime. More than any other contemporary artist of world standing, Käthe Kollwitz was the silent voice of protest against the wretchedness of the lives of the common people. Her sensitive portrayal of human poverty was matched by the indomitable spirit shown in her drawings of man's revolt against his fate. Probably best remembered are the sketches of the dance around the guillotine, the weavers' uprising and the peasant wars. The tenderness and feeling of her art stand as a monument of dissent from the brutality that engulfed her people.

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A Journal of Opinion

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France Builds Her Future

by Henry W. Ehrmann

WITH THE FORMATION of de Gaulle's National Union cabinet, the curtain rises on the twenty-eight weeks during which the Constituent Assembly will have to draw up the new constitution, the fourteenth since the Revolution of 1789. As was to be expected, the two issues which were to be settled by the referendum of October 21 are almost forgotten, hardly a month after the campaign. The results of the elections will prove far more important for France's immediate and, perhaps, her long-range future.

That the voters sent Communists, Socialists and the Popular Republican Movement (MRP) in a neck-and-neck race to the Assembly came as a threefold surprise. Before the elections, the Ministry of Interior had semi-officially estimated that the Communists would obtain 120 seats (they got 153); the Socialists were expected to win 180 and came out with not more than 148; 100 seats were allocated to the MRP, which actually won 138.

The Communists made their largest gains, not in the industrial centers of the Parisian suburbs and northern France, but in many rural districts where even during the period of the Popular Front they had not been able to elect a single deputy. The increase in prestige must be attributed to the role which the Communists had played as courageous and resourceful leaders of the Maquis in many a region. Up to this point their victory had therefore been moral rather than political. On the other hand, their success was due to superior propaganda methods and to the indefatigable zeal of Communist organizers whom the days of liberation had sometimes raised to positions of influence in journalism or administration. Finally, popular discontent with the protracted inefficiency in industrial production and in food distribution was most effective in turning the women's vote of the large cities toward the Communists, who had hotly criticized the Socialist Ministers in charge of supply and production. However, the results of elections and the referendum exposed certain weaknesses in the Communists. They had concentrated their efforts on defeating de Gaulle's proposal for a very limited ministerial responsibility to the Constituent Assembly. An unexpectedly high number of "yesses" acquiesced in the provisional government's scheme, many of them clearly coming from Communist voters. Moreover, the Communists had venomously attacked the Popular Republican Movement and all it stood for; the success of this party, when compared with pre-election prognostications, outranked that of the CP.

UNDOUBTEDLY many formerly reactionary votes went to the MRP, considered at least a temporary bulwark against communism. This is true especially in Brittany, Normandy and in Alsace, where the new party became the successor of the former Autonomists. But the mass basis which the MRP found centers mainly around the small craftsmen, small shopkeepers and small traders, who are still so important in France's economic set-up and who can by no means be considered reactionary. In addition, the influence of the MRP extends even to a considerable sector of the working class. The patient efforts at organization of the Catholic trade unions and the dynamism of the Catholic Workers' Youth (JOC), remarkable even before the war, have borne fruit. Additional strength was gained from the new emphasis which every war, but especially a war against the Nazi oppressor, places on Christian values. Finally this most Gaullist of all parties profited from the popularity of the leader of French resistance.

Because of its heterogeneous composition, the MRP, like all Catholic democratic parties, presents something of an anomaly in the European system of parties formed more or less along class lines. But that does not mean that a split in its ranks is threatening. The Catholic Center Party in Germany was also able to maintain unity despite frequent predictions of its doom. The future course of the French Republic depends largely on whether the MRP follows the development of the German Center Party, which, after a short honeymoon with progressivism during the initial years of the Weimar Republic, slipped back into its role of cagey defender of vested interests. Today not only the rank and file but also most of the leadership of the MRP is strongly devoted to a planned economy on socialist and democratic lines.

That the Socialist Party gained considerably fewer seats in the Assembly than was expected does not impair the central role which the present political constellation imposes upon it. The initial difficulties which de Gaulle encountered in the formation of his cabinet would hardly have been overcome without the Socialists' tenacious efforts at reconciliation. It is hence noteworthy that the group of Socialist deputies to the

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Constituent Assembly has undergone a thorough rejuvenation, as compared with the Socialist representatives in the old Chamber. The expulsion of all elements who at one time or another had flirted with Vichy has made room for a new type of energetic party worker who was rarely found on the Socialist benches of the Chamber of Deputies.

Not only the mainstays of the Third Republic—Radical-Socialists and Republican conservatives—were thoroughly defeated in the election. The candidates of the resistance movement, wherever they ran unaffiliated with either the Socialists or the Communists, were soundly beaten. Those who predicted that sooner or later the members of the resistance would form just another veterans' movement without any proper political role have been corroborated by the election results.

PARADOXICALLY ENOUGH, during the elections to the Constituent Assembly, everything was discussed but the terms of the future constitution. There can be no doubt that the Senate, ridiculed by Gambetta as being "elected by 75,000 bourgeois," denounced by Clémenceau and by Léon Blum long before the upper chamber wrecked a good part of the Popular Front legislation, is a thing of the past. Nothing seemed to have cost the Radical-Socialists so heavy a price at the polls as their continued defense of that institution. Whether the Socialists will help the MRP put into practice their project of an advisory second chamber composed of local representatives and those of the professions, seems to be of minor importance; similar institutions put to work in various countries after the last war failed to play any important legislative role.

There is agreement between these parties that the executive needs to be strengthened. In the words of a Socialist leader, the extreme governmental instability characteristic of prewar France was bad enough in the then prevailing liberal capitalist system; in a socialistic managed economy it would be altogether impossible. But so far, little clarification has been achieved on the formula for stability. Here a clash with the Communists is not impossible since, in their conception, the new constitution must place the unchallenged control of the executive in the hands of the single chamber.

The other major issue—which was hardly touched on during the campaign—is that of the country's orientation in foreign affairs. The traditional French habit of electioneering and voting solely on domestic issues has by no means been overcome in a situation where every question of internal policy depends on the course which European and world affairs will take. For the time being, this means that de Gaulle's foreign policy, characterized by the cry for *grandeur*, has neither been approved nor disapproved by the French people. It is stanchly supported solely by the MRP, which, as in the past, will have the direction of the Quai d'Orsay. If there is a quasi-unanimity in the thinking on foreign affairs, it is an aversion against what is feared to be encroachments on French self-determination by American capitalism. The only frankly philo-American faction is represented by big business; their party, Paul Reynaud's Alliance Démocratique, was annihilated in the elections. On the other hand, there are certain indications that the large Communist vote cannot be taken as the proof of a correspondingly widespread feeling that France should unreservedly enter the orbit of Russian foreign policy. Many voted for the CP because they did not believe in that party's submission to the USSR.

The "German question" arouses much less public interest than after the last war, mainly because that country's resurrection is deemed to be out of the question now. It might be true, as Foreign Minister Bidault stated, that no French government could survive which at present would permit a central German government to rule over the Rhineland and the Ruhr. But while this is an expression of a need for security, there is among Frenchmen very little chauvinism or feeling of revenge. Characteristically enough, the German prisoners of war who work in the fields or for private entrepreneurs are treated well, while those in camps under military police surveillance are very badly off.

BESIDES the writing of a constitution and the budget for the next year, the Constituent Assembly has in its remaining six months of existence important pieces of legislation on its agenda, paramount among them the projected nationalizations. The three big parties stand firmly on the ground of the charter of the National Council of Resistance which provided for the nationalization of mines, electric power, big banks, insurance companies and abolition of trusts in fields left to private enterprise. In this respect, the results of the French elections have not been less conclusive than the victory of British labor. *Citoyen* de Gaulle, whatever might be his personal feelings in this matter, cannot but follow suit. Herein lies one of the fundamental differences between the difficulties which the Popular Front governments had to face, and the present situation. Then the Socialists and the trade-union movement fought a lone fight when they maintained that economic security could not be achieved without thoroughgoing changes in the economic structure. Their allies to the Right were, in the main, devoted to a laissez-faire economy. The Communists opposed such reforms because they feared that too much economic surgery would weaken the country's potentialities of defense in the approaching passage of arms with Nazi Germany. Today, not theoretical considerations, but the conditions under which France was defeated and the tasks of reconstruction which cannot be fulfilled without an almost complete retooling of the obsolete production system, have convinced the major political organizations and their adherents that

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only by a change in her economic system can France hope to regain the position of a great nation.

But if a reform of the credit system and stringent control of such fields as public utilities are the prerequisites of economic and, indeed, political recovery, they will not solve the many immediate problems which the government, born of the October elections, has to meet. On such immediate issues the parties to the new coalition seem to be farthest apart. De Gaulle has spoken of the necessity of a balanced budget in a situation where the salary of the average public servant amounts to less than one-tenth of what American journalists consider the minimum cost of living in Paris. The Communists have repeatedly declared themselves opposed to a devaluation of the currency, though it is probably unavoidable. So far the trade unions, organized in the CGT, have been successful in discouraging widespread strikes. But the general dissatisfaction with insufficient wages continues to grow.

Had the Communists been permitted to remain outside the National Union government, serious conflicts might have arisen; all the more so since the CGT is at present largely under Communist control. By throwing upon the Communists responsibilities such as those connected with the Ministries of Industrial Production, of National Economy and of Labor, the Constituent Assembly may be in a position to carry its work through to a successful conclusion.

Tax Policy: Back to 1929

by William Withers

If HARDING and Coolidge could climb the broad steps of the Capitol today, they would hear familiar phrases: congressmen urging tax reduction for business and for the higher incomes, recitals of the inequity and inappropriateness of an excess-profits tax in peacetime. They would be told that the war has created a dangerously large public debt and that we must balance the budget in double-quick time before we are engulfed by inflation. They would be informed that budgets are best balanced by economy.

"Normalcy" is with us again. In the twenties it meant relaxation from the trying idealism of war days. It meant the restoration of control over government and economic policy to wealth and privilege. In its atmosphere, troublesome demands of organized labor and rebellious farmers could go unheeded.

Normalcy in the forties leads off with tax reduction. The Revenue Act of 1945 marks a suitable opening. It provides more tax reduction for business than for individuals, more tax reduction for high than for low incomes, and the repeal of the excess-profits tax. It means no planning of tax and expenditure policies in relation to an impending wave of unemployment. It symbolizes our return to the fiscal goal of a balanced budget.

How different was the climate of tax opinion only a year ago! Despite their limitations, the CED, Ruml-Sonne, Groves, Twin Cities and Hansen-Perlow tax plans were distinct contributions in the effort then prevailing to relate taxation functionally to prices, wages, production, investment and employment. Never before in the history of American public finance had such forward-looking, economically constructive tax proposals appeared. Today we want our taxes reduced, and skip the theoretical trimmings.

President Roosevelt's three administrations represented twelve years of progress in tax statesmanship and fiscal enlightenment of both Congress and the public. There were experiments with currency depreciation, pump-priming, cyclical rather than annual budget-balancing, deficit spending through relief and welfare payments, and finally, the proposal for a national budget which underlies the Murray full-employment bill. There was also the crusade against the tax-evaders who welched on their tax obligations from 1920 to 1932 through undistributed profits, multiple trusts, personal holding companies, gifts to escape the estate tax, tax-exempt securities and even at times through outright violations of the tax laws. There was finally the attack launched in Roosevelt's 1935 tax message against unequal concentration of wealth, dubbed by the President's enemies the "soak-the-rich plan."

But the Revenue Act of 1945 and the events leading up to its passage give little encouragement that the Treasury is now either prepared or willing to lead in liberal directions. Tax-planning has received a distinct setback in the recent legislation and the manner in which it was adopted. Providing a $3.1-billion tax cut for corporations and a $2.8-billion tax cut for individual income-tax payers, it stressed relief for the upper incomes. Rushed through Congress with insufficient hearings, it could not be a maturely considered measure. The Treasury made little effort to follow the practices and principles of the Roosevelt administrations. It capitulated to the trend toward tax normalcy which had begun to appear in the spring of 1945.

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Normalcy thought patterns were apparent in Secretary Vinson's tax message to Congress: he favored repeal of the excess-profits tax, return to a balanced budget in 1947, reduction of excise taxes to 1942 rates, and a flat-percentage-rate reduction in the individual income tax by elimination of the three-percent normal tax. The $5.2-billion tax reduction proposed divided tax relief equally between business and individuals. Although the elimination of the normal tax exempted more than 12 million low-income taxpayers, the over-all effect would favor the middle and upper incomes. Similar tax-reduction recommendations were made by Secretary Mellon after World War I.

THE TREND toward normalcy was also exemplified by growing references to a balanced budget. Some attacked "spending for its own sake"; others, "wasteful spending." Even liberals and labor leaders who had once supported President Roosevelt's WPA and his policy of compensatory spending began to deplore a postwar return to boondoggling and the continuation of budget deficits. Others began to urge the need for budget plans which would emphasize stability rather than instability. Marriner S. Eccles, chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, warned against stressing "the federal government's residual responsibility to intervene with large expenditures as offsets for deflationary conditions." The compensatory role of the federal budget was rejected.

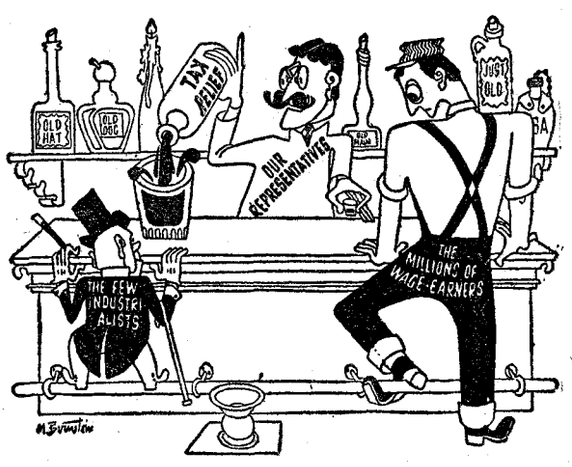
In Congress a "cut-your-coat-to-the-size-of-the-cloth" school of budgeting began, led by Senators Byrd and George and Representative Knutson. These three budgeteers recommended that we first discover what level of taxes business can stand, and that expenditures be limited accordingly. They supported drastic economy moves, with annual government expenditures at a level of $26 billion or less. Representative Knutson recommended restriction of expenditures by the federal government, exclusive of veterans, public debt and national defense, to only $8 billion. The requirement of a balanced budget was even written into the Murray full-employment bill as it passed the Senate.

President Truman and Secretary Vinson could not have ignored the heavily regressive character of the wartime federal tax system. Before the war, the federal excises, customs duties, payroll and corporation net-income taxes fell most heavily on the lower-income groups. Notwithstanding high rates of the individual income, estate and gift taxes, the federal tax system burdened the poor more than the rich. The war made this tax system even more regressive by levying new heavy rates on low individual income-tax brackets and by lowering personal exemptions. The number of income-tax payers was increased from six to nearly fifty million. Some of our less vocal taxpayers were subjected to tax bills many times higher than before the war—a family of four, for example, paying $12 in taxes on a gross income of $4,000 in 1940 was paying $418 on the same income in 1945.

Secretary Morgenthau and Randolph Paul used to present their proposals for changes in the income-tax-rate schedule carefully differentiated to minimize the burdens at the low-income end of the scale. They were alert to the effects of revisions on the different classes of income. Had the new President and the new Secretary of the Treasury fully sensed the regressive character of the wartime federal tax system, they would have stood firmly against flat-percentage tax-cut proposals and they would have recommended an entirely new individual income-tax-rate schedule, with tax cuts increasing at the lower end of the scale. They might also have recommended higher individual exemptions.

Secretary Vinson could have opposed Knutson's pioneer movement for a flat-percentage tax cut. Early this year, Knutson proposed to reduce all income-tax obligations by a straight 20 percent (for the sake of administrative simplicity). Thus, net taxable incomes between $500 and $1,000 would receive the same treatment as net taxable incomes over $50,000. So often have Republicans in Congress and the state legislatures recommended this form of reduction that it was beginning to be described as the Republican method —until the Democrats recently adopted it in the new Revenue Act. Secretary Vinson's normal-tax reduction was a little less pernicious than the proposal of Representative Knutson, since it exempted many low-income taxpayers altogether and the flat-percentage reduction for the higher incomes was 3 rather than 20 percent. But it was, nevertheless, the flat-percentage method. A man with a net taxable income of $50,000 would receive a $1,500 tax reduction; a man with $5,000 of net taxable income, only $150. Secretary Vinson did not fight this injustice; he recommended it.

It must be granted, of course, that Secretary Vinson is well intentioned. He wanted to relieve the tax burden on many low-income taxpayers. He wanted to prevent inflation by confining tax reduction to a total of $5 billion. But it is in this confusion over



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On the House

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the probabilities of inflation and deflation in the next six months that the Treasury under Vinson seems most inept. Must we believe that in spite of the excellent statistical staff built up over the twelve Roosevelt years the Treasury cannot decide whether to put its chips on inflation or deflation? Must we believe that their forecasting ability is so bankrupt that they pulled the $5-billion tax-reduction figure out of thin air? Has some shameful statistical letdown occurred in the Treasury Department since Henry Morgenthau Jr. vacated the secretaryship?

It should now be clear that by the time the proposed tax reductions become effective, deflation will have set in. With unemployment exceeding eight million next spring, it is hard to see these reductions occurring in a period of inflation. A period of deflation and unemployment calls for very heavy tax reductions if the low incomes are to support purchasing power. The Revenue Act of 1945 falls far short of the needed low-income reductions.

BUT THE GREATEST ERROR of Treasury policy is not to be found in inequitable and anti-purchasing-power tax reduction. It lies rather in a misconception of the fiscal arrangements needed in the sort of economic period we are now entering, a period of unemployment and drastically declining purchasing power. The federal government spent more than $100 billion last year; it will spend approximately half that amount in 1945. Although this year's budget deficit may reach $30 billion, the effect of curtailment of federal financing will be a drastic cut in purchasing power. The economic system will lose an assured market for more than one-fourth of its product. Large deficits do not create inflation when they are accompanied by 50-percent cuts in government demands for commodities. We know from the events of the thirties that great deflation may occur in spite of large federal deficits, provided the total national money income is declining fast and substantially.

In a period such as we are now entering, Secretary Vinson should be far more concerned with the effects of federal spending upon the production level of the economy than with tax reduction. Where is the much needed public-works program to stimulate employment through housing and river-valley projects in the middle of 1946? The Treasury has not planned for it.

Moreover, tax reduction does not guarantee increased purchasing power, as the Treasury Department seems to imply. The only certain way for the federal government to increase purchasing power is through expenditures. Right now many are lured into the pleasant expectation that tax reduction means for them the possibility of buying a new car or a General Electric sink next spring. If by spring they have lost their jobs, tax reduction will have no tangible effect upon their purchasing power.

Fiscal muddling and uncertainty are evidenced by the President's recently announced wage policy. Wage increases are advocated to offset the tendency toward declining purchasing power and unemployment. But tax-reduction recommendations two weeks earlier were restricted to $5 billion *to prevent inflation.* It is inconceivable that within two weeks the prospects of inflation disappeared and deflation was ready to set in. If this is the Administration's view, Secretary Vinson should send an emergency message to Congress urging drastic tax reductions on the low-income groups.

The fiscal muddling (or is it mere tax bargaining?) is further exemplified by Secretary Vinson's concern with the need for reduction in business taxes. The excess-profits tax must go immediately. But even in the "normalcy" period after the last war, many competent economists pleaded for the excess-profits tax as a legitimate peacetime measure, citing its use in Britain. In 1944, corporate profits after taxation were five times higher than 1939 profits. They will continue to exceed 1939 levels in 1945 and 1946. Why should we rush to repeal the excess-profits tax? Because big business has insufficient cash reserves for reconversion? That is sheer nonsense. Its reconversion reserves probably exceed $30 billion. Yet the Treasury Department has recommended greater reductions for business than for low-income groups. Congress has followed where the Treasury led.

There is apparently no substitute for the broad economic planning and fiscal statesmanship of Morgenthau's days. We cannot afford the ersatz Treasury policies that the new Secretary is developing. We cannot afford to have a Secretary of the Treasury, elected by pro-Roosevelt voters, who resembles Andrew Mellon. We cannot afford the disheartening return to "normalcy" that Washington now reveals in this tax as in other matters. We need bold tax and expenditure planning to promote postwar prosperity and full employment.

Lines on the Bench

How faultless fall their shadows on the faulted rocks
like knotted vines upon wine-colored pools!
Old men should be deprived of calendars and clocks.
Eternity is after April Fools.

The Earth is invaded by men from the World of Now;
it has no pinnacle they cannot reach.
The opulent orange darkens on the bough,
light from that sun-kissed garden peels like a peach.

O the Jacks-in-the-pulpit are nothing but Jacks-in-the-box!
In May they spring like fish in flying schools.
Old men should be deprived of calendars and clocks,
of keys and locks; of rulers, and of rules.

WILLIAM JAY SMITH

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Homes for the Vets

by Ralph G. Martin

THE ROOM was packed with people who swelled out into the hall, down the stairs, and formed a line that stretched almost the length of the block to the corner of Harrison Avenue. Inside this Bronx office of the American Veterans' Committee, interviewers were calling out numbers.

Number 103 sat down heavily and the first question came quick and cutting: "Are you disabled?"

Stanley Billauer, once a private with the Third Battalion of the 357th Regiment of the 90th Division, started to smile, as if he had thought of something funny, and then he said, "Yes, I'm disabled."

He and his wife were living with his folks but they wanted a place of their own, he said. They wanted three rooms, and if they couldn't get that, then they'd take two, and if they couldn't get two, they'd take anything. Only it would have to be on the ground floor, he said, "because this is a new leg I've got and I'm not really used to it yet."

In the next few minutes the interviewer explained the whole set-up. As soon as the Waves moved out of these 11 buildings, the landlords would make 600 of the 750 apartments available to veterans selected by the AVC. The selection was based on a priority system, with the Purple Hearts coming first, and then those who were overseas longest. Doctors also received special consideration. But the apartments couldn't be ready until some time in January or February. The interviewer's final advice was, "Don't stop looking."

After Billauer had left, the interviewer seemed puzzled. "I don't get it," he said. "I've had six amputees so far this morning and you'd think that at least some of them would start bitching, but none of them have. I tried to get a reaction out of the last guy, and do you know what he said? He said, 'Why should I be mad? At least I have a roof over my head and a cot to sleep on.' And I thought they'd all be so bitter."

Next to sit down was a young plump girl with frightened eyes. "Everything's happening next month all at once," she said nervously. "I'm gonna have a baby and my husband's getting discharged and so is my brother, and where we all gonna live?"

She was living with her mother and her brother's wife and children in a tiny three-room apartment, she said. For months now she had read all the newspapers and gone to all the agencies and walked up and down the streets and she still hadn't found anything. While she was talking, she kept staring at the interviewer's face and then, suddenly, she broke down. "Please don't discourage me," she said. "I've been discouraged so much already. I came here all the way from Brooklyn."

When she left, the interviewer wiped his face. "Jeezus, what the hell can I do?" he said. "My wife and I can't find anything either. We've been living with her folks for two months and that's two months too much. And I don't even rate on this set-up here because I wasn't overseas long enough and I never got wounded."

The numbers kept running quickly into each other, and every story was something special:

"I am looking for an apartment for my son. He was an infantryman with the 45th Division in Germany. Right now I'm sleeping on the couch so he can sleep with his wife in my bed. But I've got a wife, too. . . ."

"My wife and I got two wonderful kids and we're living in a dirty hole full of rats and cockroaches crawling all over everything, because we couldn't find any place else. How can you raise kids in a place like that? . . ."

"No, I don't have any husband. He was killed in the Philippines. I've been living with my girl friend, but now her husband's getting out of the Navy. I don't know where to go. . . ."

"You mean to say you don't have any furnished apartments available? Well, you're certainly not very efficient around here, are you? . . ."

"My son Sammy doesn't want to come home. He lost both legs at Anzio and he says he won't come home until we move to some other neighborhood. You see, he was born and raised in this neighborhood and everybody knows him and he just doesn't want any pity. . . ."

"Look, we just got married a couple months ago and my wife has to sleep at the YWCA and me at the YMCA. What kind of marriage is that, anyway? . . ."

"Listen, mister, I don't want any sympathy. I just want a place to live. . . ."

The room was full of noise but the noise stopped completely the minute a tall AVC member got on a chair with a white piece of paper in his hand. "I want your attention, please," he said. "We just got a letter from a landlord who wants to rent a three-room flat. There's no hot water but there is a private toilet. The rent is $17 a month. Is anybody interested?"

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Several people came quickly to the desk to get the address, including a thin little man who said apologetically to nobody in particular, "This is just in case we can't get anything else."

THE MAN who made the announcement went back to his crowded table to sort out the rest of a big batch of mail. His name was Irving Katz and he was just discharged. He was a lawyer, he said, and was helping out here because he knew what it meant for six people to live in two rooms. Then he shoved over some of the letters.

One was from a man who said he couldn't understand why the city didn't buy up some of those huge, deserted estates on Long Island and build a lot of homes for veterans. Another was from Halloran Hospital and certified that Pfc. Martin Slitsky, ASN 3252744, was paralyzed from the waist down and couldn't be released unless he had an apartment on the ground floor or in a building with an elevator. Still another letter, on expensive blue stationery, was from a man who said that his heart was touched by the veterans' plight and he would be glad to sell one of his houses to some needy veteran for $4,500.

Then there was an eight-page letter that said:

"All of a sudden out of the Deep Blue Sky, everybody is looking for apartments. I think that everybody that is not born in these five boroughs should be sent back where they belong. All the veterans that are born in New York and Brooklyn, Bronx, Staten Island, Long Island should stay here and the ones that are from out of town should go back to Washington, Chicago and South California."

Bunched in the back of the room, waiting for their numbers to be called, several new civilians were saying something similar. They were saying that the farmers who went to work in the shipyards during the war ought to go back to their farms.

"But it isn't as if there aren't any empty apartments in this town," said an air-corps lieutenant who still wore his uniform. "I was talking to a real-estate friend of mine and he told me there's supposed to be a 25-percent turnover of apartments in this town every year, war or no war," he said, beginning to get angry. "It's just that a lot of sonofabitch superintendents won't rent you an apartment unless you slip them a couple hundred bucks first. I know a guy who shelled out $500 for his place. And the landlords just don't seem to pay any attention to what's going on."

"Hell they don't," said a big, heavy guy who might have been a master sergeant or a major. "A lot of those landlords got private rackets all their own. They throw a few pieces of broken-down furniture into an apartment and then say they'll only rent it to you if you buy the furniture. My buddy paid $700 like that, then threw the junk out as soon as he moved in. Somebody ought to crack down on those bastards."

There was a minute's silence because some more numbers were being called out, then an ex-corporal with a lot of ribbons and six battle stars broke out bitterly, "I'll bet this place is a racket, too. If I slipped those interviewers some dough, I'll bet I'd get an apartment in a hurry."

Somebody on the fringe of the crowd, who had been listening, interrupted, "You're all wet there, bud. These guys are good joes." He pointed to a busy interviewer with a black mustache and glasses. "That one's a doctor. He takes time off from his practice to help out." Then he pointed to a short, thin man. "And that guy was in the same outfit with me in France. He should be looking for a job instead of helping here."

The corporal shrugged his shoulders. "Well, maybe I'm wrong then," he said grudgingly. "Maybe this one is on the level. I've bumped into so many phonies, though, that I'm suspicious of everything."

From there the talk shifted to solutions. Nobody seemed to be very happy about the idea of living in prefabricated houses in Flushing, even if it was temporary. It was too much like the old army barracks all over again, they said. Oh, they'd live there all right, they'd live anywhere, but it just wasn't the kind of thing they used to dream about in those water-filled foxholes. The same went for the plan of converting substandard flats into something livable by installing toilets and hot water. One quiet little man said that the way he understood it, the reason for the big delay in building was that construction materials were expensive now and all the builders were waiting until costs went down.

IT'S THE SAME old story," said the corporal with the battle stars again. "You fight a goddam war and you finally come home and everybody slaps your back and tells you what a wonderful job you did and all that crap, but when it comes to really doing something, then nobody's home. Nobody seems to know from nothing. All you get is words."

There was a pause after that, everybody silently agreeing. Then a young ex-sailor told the story of a cousin of his whose husband was overseas and she was so desperate to find a place to stay that she answered an ad for a governess. It was a nice room and a nice kid. But then the kid's father decided that he wanted just as much attention as the kid.

"Before she finally got out of the house, he almost raped her," said the sailor.

The big, heavy guy smothered a laugh. "If I have to get raped to get an apartment, it's okay by me."

The laughter that followed was broken up by the interviewers bawling out some more numbers and this time several of the group got up in a hurry. Soon the only ones left were the quiet little man and the young sailor. The little man nodded his head toward an end table where a Negro was being interviewed.

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"That's another reason why it's difficult to get apartments," he said in a low voice. "A lot of landlords don't advertise their apartments because they're afraid that these colored people will try to rent them, and I think there's some kind of law now that you can't refuse an apartment to a man just because he's colored."

At the table, the Negro being interviewed was a big, husky young man who said he had just come back from three years in the Pacific with the aviation engineers. His name was Robert Cottrel and this was his first stop on an apartment hunt, he said. His wife was going to New York University and he was looking for a job here. He had a theory, he said, that many Negroes created their own walls of segregation.

"Of course," he added slowly, "I don't want to live where I'm not wanted."

Hours later, when only a few people were left, the interviewers relaxed over some cigarettes.

The only woman there told of her last customer, a young girl who had recently had triplets and her husband never got to see them because he was killed in Germany. Well, this girl now lived with some relatives in a crowded apartment on the fourth floor and she had to make two trips up and down to carry all the babies. She was thin and weak to begin with, and just couldn't take it any more. She wanted a ground-floor place.

"Well, what do you want me to do, cry on your shoulder?" said the lawyer impatiently. "They're all tough cases. She and 2,000 others, and all we got is 600 apartments. I can't understand why the state and the city didn't plan for this a long time ago. They knew it was coming."

"There was one sailor who had a funny idea," said the man who had a pants business in Passaic. "He said that instead of scrapping all the LST's, the government ought to line them up along the docks and convert them into houses."

"What's so funny about it?" said the lawyer. "It's better than pup tents in Central Park. Somebody better do something soon, that's all."

Everybody said goodnight and the only ones left in the office were the policeman from the 44th precinct, a man fixing the telephone, and Katz. Somebody knocked on the door and the cop looked inquiringly at Katz, who finally nodded resignedly and the cop unlocked the door. It was a poorly dressed little woman with a firm face who promptly opened up with, "Please, me no speak English so good. Me got four sons in Army and my man was hurt in last war and we always try so hard to keep whole family together and now my sons come back home and we have no room for them. Please, mister, do you know place with more rooms for all of us?"

Later, when the policeman said goodnight, all he could think of to say was, "It all seems like such a damn shame, don't it?"

What Italy's Left Wants

by Leo Valiani

ALL OF EUROPE is moving toward the Left, but in only one of the Western European nations in the sphere of influence of the democracies has anything taken place, both during and after the war, that deserves the name of a social revolution—Italy. The standard-bearers of Italy's social revolution were workers and younger intellectuals. The Italian working class had always turned a cold shoulder to the corporative experiment of the Fascist state. But as long as this class was isolated from the rest of the world, only its most daring members joined the underground anti-Fascist struggle, with its risk of years of imprisonment. The masses as a whole were dormant.

In 1941-42 the atmosphere changed. The younger intellectuals and the university students comprising the generation educated by Giovanni Gentile, the official philosopher of fascism, showed not only hostility to the war but also a clear-cut decision to do away completely with fascism's dictatorial institutions and to build in their place a new social and political order. In all the Italian universities, groups arose and spread rapidly, some calling themselves liberal socialists, others professing a sort of humanistic Marxism. Thousands of young intellectuals flocked to these movements. The programs were extremely varied, but they had a common basis in a desire for peace, freedom and social reform. Some of these groups, notably the Unione dei Lavoratori Italiani of Milan, led by two young professional men, Cavallotti and Savio, managed to get directly in touch with a select group of factory workers. As a result, "revolutionary factory committees" were set up in all the industrial plants in the Milan area, where war production had vastly increased the number of employees. By March of 1943, this movement, which had spread to other cities as well,

Leo Valiani's article was written before the Liberals forced the resignation of the Parri government, as the author predicted. Now editor of the daily, Italia Libera, *and the magazine,* Nuovi Quaderni di Giustizia e Liberta (Milan), *Mr. Valiani was from 1943 to 1945 a member of the Committee for National Liberation in Northern Italy. He is the author of* A History of Twentieth-Century European Socialism: 1905-1944.

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was strong enough to induce the workers to carry out large-scale strikes for political as well as economic reasons. These were the first strikes to take place anywhere under a dictatorship.

By October, 1943, there were hundreds of partisan groups in the valleys of the Alps and the Apennines which made up a carefully chosen and active fighting movement capable of creating disturbances behind the German lines and of carrying out acts of sabotage. Since they were too few to shake off the Nazi domination, they looked to the masses of workers. In the factories, which were now turning out goods for the Germans, the revolutionary committees carried on a secret existence. In December of 1943 they tested the strength of the enemy by calling upon the workers to strike for increased food rations. In Turin, Milan and Genoa the workers staged street demonstrations. The Gestapo made arrests and mass deportations, but the workers held their ground. Italian war production was so important to the Germans that after a week they gave in, promising satisfaction of the strikers' demands. The first test had been successful.

Just after the strikes which marked the end of 1943, the Committee for National Liberation of Northern Italy, which was the general staff of the partisan army and of the whole underground struggle, made contact with the factory committees and proposed that they form into the basic units of the resistance movement. By the end of February, 1944, the workers had so far achieved their transformation into a political entity that the Committee for National Liberation was able to call, for March 1, an anti-Fascist and anti-German general strike in all the factories of central and northern Italy. Hundreds of thousands of workers, bank and business employees, bus drivers and others engaged in transportation held a general strike for ten days. The Gestapo was nonplussed.

IN THE NEXT WEEKS, Nazi repression served only to drive thousands of workers into the partisan bands. Partisan warfare, which hitherto had been of a strictly patriotic character, suddenly acquired a political aspect. An enormous majority of the partisans declared themselves in favor of a democratic workers' republic. Even Allied headquarters, which was in contact with the Committee for National Liberation, had to take this new fact into consideration and give up the original plan to reconcile the partisans with Badoglio.

The factory committees, joined to the Committee for National Liberation, now were the dominant force in Northern Italy, still occupied by the Germans. These committees were militarized and built into armed anti-Fascist squads. Strikes went on in rapid succession and reached even the railroads and important German army transportation. In every city of Northern Italy, the winter of 1944-45 was marked by open anti-Fascist warfare. Thus encouraged, the partisan bands, beginning with the Giustizia e Liberta groups in Piedmont, started in January of 1945 to come down from the mountains into the plains and camp in the woods and hills near the cities.

When, in April of this year, the Committee for National Liberation of Northern Italy summoned workers and partisans alike to the final uprising against the Nazis, it decided at the same time to seize the wealth of those capitalists who had collaborated with the enemy and to set up management councils of workers in all important factories. This decision was instrumental in bringing about the splendid insurrection of the factory squads, whose prompt action saved the Northern Italian plants from the destruction planned by the retreating Germans.

From April 25, 1945, until today, in spite of the rule of the AMG, the Northern Italian industries have been run by management councils made up of workers and technicians. This state of things, however, is experimental and temporary. With the arrival of raw materials and the increase of production (which had gone down to one-third of normal), there arises the problem of putting the national economy on a sound basis.

THE Italian Communist Party, which has strong working-class support, has come out in favor of an indefinite extension of the management-council system, such councils to have equal representation of workers and ownership. This proposal is opposed by all the other left-wing parties, who fear that it might result in a stoppage of production because of a permanent class struggle between the two factions. The Action Party, of which (former) Premier Parri is a member, proposed a solution consonant with the liberal-socialist conception of a bilateral economy, combining part state and part private ownership. This would mean that the big monopolies, beginning with hydro-electric power and mining interests, would be confiscated by the government until a decision on nationalization should be reached. This decision, however, is up to the Constitutional Assembly. In regard to other industries, the Action Party holds that the management councils should be replaced by control councils. A manager chosen by vote of the stockholders would once more have the right to run a business, but the workers would have the right to see to it that his management benefited national reconstruction and even, perhaps, fitted in with the theory of full employment. The Socialist Party has as yet taken no definite stand. Among its leaders, Pietro Nenni appears to favor the Communist view and Ignazio Silone that of the Actionists. The Christian Democrat Party is also studying this problem.

The Liberal (conservative) Party, on the other hand, opposes all that has been accomplished by the factory committees and holds that ownership should

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be restored to business and industrial leaders, even to those who have already been censured for their past Fascist activities. For this and similar reasons the Liberals threaten to provoke a crisis in the present coalition government, which includes all the anti-Fascist parties. Former Premier Nitti, who, in 1919-20, was responsible for the aggravation of class conflict between the bourgeoisie and the workers which led to the success of fascism, is today an ardent leader of this party, which seeks to block all social reform.

The problem will come up for settlement before the Constitutional Assembly, due to take place in April, 1946. It is closely linked with the question of what kind of government Italy is to have in the future. Those who favor a republican form also stand for social justice to the workers. The monarchists, on the other hand, throw their support to the perpetuation of an industrial system which, in an Italy where high tariffs have traditionally protected monopoly, has always been largely parasitic.

This, then, is a surface picture of the left-wing movement and its problems in Italy today. There are other aspects—the agrarian problem and the problem of the lower middle class, which has produced a new nationalist movement, and its journalistic organ, *L'Uomo Qualunque* (*The Average Man*). These aspects are less apparent but equally fundamental. They require more space for further discussion.

Manasco, One-Man Bottleneck

by Helen Fuller

A FEW MONTHS AGO, Carter Manasco of Jasper, Alabama, was just another obscure congressman. Now his name is in the national press almost every day. The President of the United States has singled him out for criticism before a nationwide radio audience. And political leaders are saying that his present line of action could lead to real disaster for the Democratic Party unless it is stopped now.

As chairman of the House Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, Manasco has been sitting in the driver's seat on the Murray-Patman full-employment bill, and he has been doing his best to wreck the measure since the moment it fell into the hands of his committee. Because he is blocking the road for his own party, Manasco, therefore, has been receiving attention out of all proportion to his real stature.

Carter Manasco is a political accident. He never actually aspired to be more in life than a lawyer earning a good living. Both he and those who know him are still a little surprised that he is in Congress. He was born in rural north Alabama 44 years ago and grew up in the hamlet of Townley, 12 miles from Jasper, the coal capital of that section. His father farmed a little and hauled coal from the mines the rest of the time. He never went below ground, but Carter did as soon as he was old enough. He didn't drop out of school, although he missed a couple of years of high school when he had to earn some money. Once he went up to Illinois and worked in the mines there because they paid better and work was slack around Walker County. He went through the University of Alabama law school too, with two and a half years out for work. Then, in 1924, he went back to practise law in Jasper.

When the depression hit full force, Manasco pulled in his shingle and headed for Washington. Jasper folks say that he got there on the strength of his "maneuvering" in the state legislature, where he had served in 1930. Whatever the case, he was set for a job in the Department of Justice when Speaker Will Bankhead of Alabama suffered a heart attack and needed more office help. Manasco stayed on as clerk to the Speaker until his death in 1938. During that time, he learned the ways of Washington, made friends with the boys in the press gallery, sat in on their poker games and lorded it over the lower echelons of the House staff.

Walter Will Bankhead, the Senator's nephew, was appointed to fill out that term, but decided not to run for reëlection. Manasco says he never thought of getting the job for himself, that his roommate and other Washington junior politicians sold him on the idea. The Bankhead machine also seemed to think it was a good idea, for, having announced, he went through the primary unopposed and was of course then duly elected to represent the Seventh District of Alabama in Congress. The Seventh is mainly hill country, largely agricultural. Only one of its nine counties has any considerable industrial population, and that is almost wholly occupied in coal mining. Fewer than 10,000 of the district's 142,000 potential voters voted for Manasco in his first unopposed election. Manasco came back to Washington a congressman instead of a congressman's secretary and easily settled into the work routine he knew so well. When the House is in session, he spends much of his time in the press gallery playing poker with the newspapermen and chewing the big, black, "politician" cigars he always has stuck in his small face. He mixes little in Washington society.

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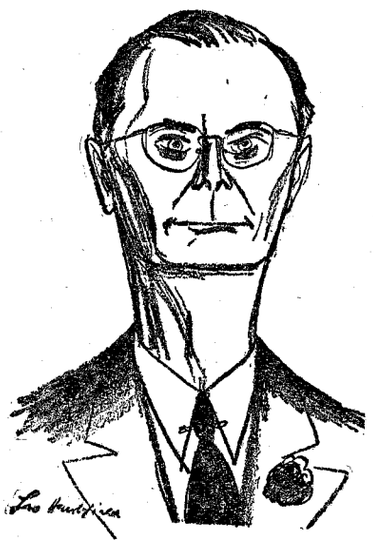
He likes to read, "anything but novels," and to play a little left-handed golf. His principal cronies among his colleagues are two of the most reactionary Southerners in the House, George Andrews of Alabama and Herbert Bonner of North Carolina, who also got his start as a congressional secretary.

Manasco answers his mail promptly and is energetic about the little services which are expected of congressmen. But that is about all the average citizens of the Alabama Seventh District have got for their money while Manasco has been representing them. His opponents around the courthouse in Jasper are fond of telling that the only bill Carter has introduced and had passed during his terms in the House was one changing the name of the Black Warrior National Forest to the William B. Bankhead National Forest.



CARTER MANASCO

There are a lot of poor people and very few rich ones in Manasco's district, but you would never guess that from his voting record. On what were probably the thirteen key issues before the House from the time he was elected in 1942 through August, 1945, Manasco voted against the Administration on eleven. Those issues included such measures as price control, the "relief-for-the-greedy" tax bill, the $25,000 salary limitation, the Smith-Connally Act and the soldiers'-vote bill. Manasco is one of the most consistent anti-Administration voters in the whole House and has the poorest record of Administration support of all the chairmen of the twelve key standing committees, having voted with the party leadership only 15 percent of the time.

In the 1944 campaign there was considerable opposition to Manasco in the Seventh District. The CIO, beginning to develop some strength there, and the United Mine Workers, between 8,000 and 10,000 strong in Walker County, were only a small part of those who wanted a change in representation. J. H. Deason, a Jasper businessman friendly to labor, came within 570 votes (out of 23,000) of defeating Manasco in the primary. This time about 16 percent of the potential voters had gone to the polls.

Manasco went back to Washington resolved to take no chances next time. As he analyzed it, that meant getting out around the district more and having a larger campaign chest. He came back to a new job, the chairmanship of the Committee on Executive Expenditures, which he got chiefly because at the time no one else wanted it. In recent years this chairmanship had been an unimportant post. But in the past year it has turned into a major position and a first-class publicity break for Manasco.

In rapid succession, the Expenditures Committee, which had not had an important bill in years, was handed the government-reorganization bill, surplus-property legislation, the Army-Navy merger bill and the top-priority full-employment bill. From the first, Manasco made no bones of the fact that he stood with the American Farm Bureau Federation, which is strong in his district, firmly against the Murray-Patman bill. He stalled hearings as long as he could, and then when they did begin, stretched them out interminably to prevent reporting the measure out in this session. He repeatedly advised the Administration to forget the legislation until next year, his counsel being identical with that of the Republican leaders. He complained that he could not help the President with the bill because he had "a hostile majority" in his committee. But he added, "There is no big hurry on this matter now, in any event."

As October wore on, the President in desperation called Manasco to the White House. Word went out that Mr. Truman had "got tough" with him, but Manasco insists that they merely had a nice talk about the President's program, and at the end he promised Mr. Truman to help all he could. He told the press that he would try to speed "some kind of legislation." Five days later, the President publicly accused the Manasco committee of stalling on full employment. Manasco replied that this "truculent talk" had probably only stiffened the opposition in his group. Soon he announced that he was naming a subcommittee to rewrite the Administration bill completely. "The full-employment angle is out," he said. "That has been a slogan misleading people into thinking that the federal government will provide jobs for all. We intend to cut it completely out of the title and eliminate it from the text."

Meanwhile there has been growing criticism of Manasco's actions from the Seventh District itself. The *Mountain Eagle* and the Jasper *Union News* have published statements for the full-employment bill by State Senator Reuben Black and Representative Deason, who ran against Manasco in 1944. The Progressive Committee for Alabama has been the spearhead of local action for the bill. Deason indicates that he plans to run again in 1946, and other candidates in the northern counties are being mentioned. The *Union News* said that "to tell President Truman that he 'must trim his sails' and defy the Administration's efforts to plan postwar jobs and security for working men and women leads one to believe that he is working for the Eastern industrialists and capitalists, and not for the people of his district and state."

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Washington Notes

The World Moves to Washington

THE DIFFICULTY in Washington is to find a pinnacle high enough to observe world-shaking events which have their consequences here, and which Washington in turn affects. The Thames, the Rhine and the Yangtze run down Pennsylvania Avenue these days. Most Washington correspondents believed that peace would slacken the pace of news. Today there is more news than ever. Here in this captal there is more going on, more to cover, greater decisions being made, than ever during any war—than ever before in history.

All Europe's chaos was dumped in Washington's lap last week by Byron Price; all Asia's by Pat Hurley. Price, the President's observer, attacked France as the stumbling block in the complete deadlock now existing in Berlin, pointing out that it is her veto which holds up action. But Walter Lippmann cogently pointed out that whereas France momentarily carries the onus, the real problem is not the French veto but the failure of the big powers ever to decide whether or not the Ruhr, Rhineland and Saar are to remain German possessions. France won't budge till that is settled. As to Asia, Major General Patrick J. Hurley—lovable, muddle-minded, American equivalent of Britain's Colonel Blimp—certainly caused an uproar over that, with Republicans gleefully wondering if it isn't a better political horse to back than Pearl Harbor, where efforts to attack Cordell Hull and Roosevelt have definitely boomeranged. Incidentally, there is plenty wrong in our State Department and our Chinese policy, but I think Pat Hurley is about the last man to understand the issues or set them right.

Continuing on the international level, President Truman, in what appeared to be one of those characteristic spur-of-the-moment press responses, told us last week he was tired of "Big Three" conferences, and suggested instead that the whole work of world rebuilding be turned over to the UNO: an admirable ideal if there ever was one—to substitute at last institutional for personal diplomacy—but here again, one breathlessly wondered at the casualness of the proposal, and speculated on the immediate practicability of the program, no matter how valuable it would be for the UNO to have something real to do.

Meanwhile, Congress shows signs of quick approval of the pending bill to strengthen the United Nations Organization by putting American power behind the world police force. The Senate overwhelmingly rejected encumbering amendments, and there is every evidence that the American UNO delegate will have authority to vote sanctions against an aggressor. (Later on, there will be another congressional struggle over what size our police-force contingent shall be.) But for the moment, the UNO is being strongly supported—doubtless reflecting the awful scare produced by the atomic bomb.

Then, finally, the Anglo-American loan-agreement egg is just about ready to hatch. There have been three months of weary incubation and, off-hand, I would guess that Congress will approve it. Britain has made an acceptable loan offer a condition for her approval of the elaborate Bretton Woods program, whose deadline otherwise expires December 31. Without Britain's signature, this complex postwar financial program will flop. So, you see, things are approaching a climax here, too.

What does it all add up to? Well, it means that America has got into the middle of world affairs and will never get out again, and that for the first time the nation begins to realize it. It means we now see that our machinery for making our international will effective is inadequate and that we simply must have a better policy, better ambassadors, a better State Department.

On the domestic side, President Truman has pointed to encouraging economic aspects in the "first 100 days," but the trouble here is that the Administration has merely taken off the brakes, and the nation is coasting down the steep hill to "normalcy" under its own huge dead weight. People don't take credit for going down in a parachute—where the skill lies is in making a successful landing. However, it is true that there is much less unemployment at this particular juncture than many had feared. The great question is whether the man in the White House can keep control of the national chariot. As the year comes to a close, one can only report that practically the whole Truman domestic program is deadlocked in Congress. Truman has one means, and one alone, of blasting the program loose, that is to appeal over the heads of Congress to the public. Always in history that is what strong Presidents have done; it is an accepted part, you might say, of our curious governmental system, the remedy for our divided executive and legislative. Alas for Truman, there is no bugle note in his voice; little evidence that he has shown of being able to lift and inspire the masses. But, to date, his efforts to "play ball" with Congress have got nowhere, save on the international side, and only there because the ball is the atomic bomb.

Notes.—The labor-management conference was a flop, just like Wilson's after World War I; fortunately, the same degree of industrial bitterness hasn't yet developed. . . . The Secret Service was worried over Truman's public exposure at the Army-Navy game but, as one humble guard consoled himself by remarking, "Roosevelt had a lot of enemies—but who in time wants to kill Truman?" . . . Once at a command performance here of "The Watch on the Rhine" for FDR, the Secret Service discovered Paul Lukas had to shoot the villain on the stage; aghast, they protested. When Lukas learned that the audience would be filled with jittery Secret Service men, all armed, and that a stage pistol shot might start them all shooting, he got alarmed, too. He strangled the villain for that show. . . . The State Department has given the Bureau of Reclamation authority to help China draft plans for the mighty Yangtze dam, greatest on earth, the story of which first appeared in this magazine. . . . It isn't generally known that Russia, too, has asked for assistance to rebuild destroyed Dnieperstroy; under present conditions consent will have to wait.

Washington T. R. B.

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Doris Keane

THE DEATH of Doris Keane will mean little to various younger people in the theatre, so swiftly does time deal with it. In this particular instance that is a great pity, since most of these young members of the great theatrical body have so little to go by; they wander and are lost in a theatre that is a maze of non-technical, non-cultural commonness. She herself would have been the very first to excuse them for all this; she understood at a glance the darkness and vulgarity of our theatre for the moment in which they wander; and spiritually she understood that we cannot expect the theatre—whatever we may say of individuals—to be above and apart from the life around it. In the history of our stage she was one of the glamorous—in those days the phrase was not a matter of Hollywood ballyhoo and press-agentry—to repeat, in those days she was one of the glamorous and profound figures of our time. Before she was forty she had decided to retire from the stage. Whether she was wrong or right is matter for debate. I can only say that Duse, more vehemently of course, wanted to leave the theatre as early as possible, and returned to it at last only because her fortune had been lost in the course of a world war.

At the same time there are thousands of people in this country, in the British Isles and scattered over the world, to whom the news of Doris Keane's death will come as a shock and as a reminder of one of the dearest memories of their theatrical experience. It is astonishing what a special feeling these people have about her in "Romance." There were divers plays, but her name is wholly bound up with this—Doris Keane in "Romance."

After a great success in New York, "Romance" was taken to London, in 1915. It ran there for 1,049 performances and but for the strain and crash of the air raids, it seemed about to go on indefinitely. . . . To the British of all classes, from the Queen to the simplest clerk, she became their idol, and to an extent that, so far as I know, has never been approached by any other foreign actress. I have met English people who saw the play thirty or forty times; and there were cases where people took seats for the entire season so that they could drop in whenever they chose at a moment's notice. Young men wrote endlessly to her from far-off battlefields; some of them, dying, left her their helmets or the medals they had won. You have to know the British public to know how this sort of deep and lovely feeling, stubbornly loyal and romantic, can come about. It is one of their most wonderful qualities. Hollywood methods, of course, have made everything of this kind sound trite and banal these days; nevertheless, it should be recorded.

It should also be said here that our theatre tends more and more to forget one thing, which is that no mere beauty or fascination, or what now is called personality, was the sole source of this great devotion. Doris Keane brought to this simple story of an opera singer and a young minister a quality and a content that made it another thing. Mr. Edward Sheldon, who provided her with this vehicle, would be the first to admit this. She brought to it the fruits of a secret life, lived often in solitude, concerned with art and with a study, prolonged through years, of English and Indian philosophic writing, and with literature. Those interests, plus generosity, intuition and elements of greatness, were what went into this creation of hers. What people felt about her had, then, its source in these deep elements as well as in beauty, perfection of stage movement and an unusual degree of intensity in stage projection. If our theatre could only remember all this!

Dante spoke of poetry as the loving use of wisdom. Thus I should say here that it is the business of great poetry to make with great natures and great moments a living and shining conjunction. You do think, then, at the passing of such a figure as Doris Keane, with all the radiance and shadow that accompany such a being, of what great poets have been and are in their verses.

Of Dante's "And His will is our peace," for Doris Keane, beneath the surface glamor, was a self-consumed mystic. Of Donne's

> Death, be not proud, though some have calléd thee
> Mighty and dangerous, for thou art not so;
> And those whom thou thinkst thou dost overthrow
> Die not, poor Death—

Or of Ben Jonson's

> Underneath this stone doth lie
> As much beauty as could die:
> Which in life did harbour give
> To more virtue than doth live.

Then one thinks of the silence, greater than any voices, and of Leopardi's poem of the buried centuries and the sound of them.

STARK YOUNG

Science and Technology

Chance and Anti-Chance in Evolution

IN RECENT YEARS some biologists, notably Professor Cuénot in France, have attempted to revive the concept of finalism or teleology in evolution—in other words, the idea that there exists a purpose in or behind the phenomena of life.

They have been compelled by the advance of biological discovery to throw overboard the old finalism of Lamarck—that the organism in some way *wills* its own evolution—and also the more recent finalism of orthogenesis in the strict sense: that evolution proceeds owing to some internal necessity to vary continuously in a particular direction. They have been compelled by the fact of their scientific outlook to reject the confessedly anti-scientific vitalism of Samuel Butler, Bernard Shaw or Bergson; the last-named, for instance, spoke of man as the raison d'être of all living things, and postulated an *élan vital* (which no more explains evolution than would an *élan locomotif* explain the movements of trains) to account for evolutionary advance.

However, they still do not believe that "chance," as embodied in the Darwinian theory of natural selection, can explain all the facts of adaptation and progressive evolution. Perhaps I should say that they consciously or unconsciously do not *want* to believe it (as is assuredly the case with Butler and Shaw). In any case, after they adduce arguments and examples which appear to them difficult for the

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selectionists to explain, they then proceed to claim that there must also be some purposeful process at work.

Unfortunately, their conclusions are hardly satisfying. Professor Cuénot prefers the phrase "anti-chance" *(anti-hasard)*, and speaks of a "restricted finalism" operating in evolution, which he defines as follows: "Everything in the Cosmos seems to have been arranged to permit the creation, the diversification and the perpetuation of Life; it is incredible that mere chance should be capable of performing this triple function." But, as he himself admits, he has no suggestion to make as to how his principle of anti-chance operates, nor in what mind the purpose of evolution resides.

THE DARWINISM of today is based on the theory of natural selection, which operates by a sifting action among competing variants. It differs from that of Darwin's time chiefly in the following respects:

First, the inherited variations with which natural selection operates are now known to be due to mutations, generally with very slight effects, of the genes or units of heredity, which are carried by the chromosomes. Though the direction of mutation is not wholly random, it is random with respect to life and evolution: *i. e.*, the mutations which occur have every kind of biological effect, good, bad and indifferent.

In most cases, the visible character on which selection acts depends on a large number of interacting genes, so that selection rarely works on single mutations, but usually on several in conjunction. It is enabled to do this because, with Mendelism, old mutations can be stored in the hereditary constitution, so that all species contain a considerable reserve of variation and potential evolutionary change.

Second, Neo-Darwinism has analyzed natural selection into many forms—selection by the inorganic environment, selection between different species, between individuals of the same species, between males competing for mates, between members of a litter, between reproductive cells *(e. g.*, pollen-tubes); and has shown how these will each produce a different kind of evolutionary result.

Third, Darwinism today is based on a well developed and mathematically based theory of heredity and selection. This is able, in many cases, to calculate the intensity of natural selection operating in nature; to prophesy the rapidity of change to be expected from even very small intensities of selection; and to demonstrate how the same intensity of selection can either prevent or promote change, either stabilize or create, according to conditions.

The finalists say that the blind and automatic sifting action of natural selection, exerted as between random (chance) mutations, cannot possibly produce organs or structures with an obvious function, such as a bird's wing for flying or a moth's pattern for concealment, or lead to the long-continued improvement or specialization of an animal or plant type for a particular sort of life, as of the horse for rapid running in open country and efficient mastication of hard grasses, or the evolution of land vertebrates from fish. I should rather say that the finalists cannot (or do not want to) understand how such results could be produced.

They seem to me to have overlooked a number of very relevant points. In the first place, they entirely neglect the results of artificial selection, as exerted by man on domestic plants and animals. Thus, Cuénot in his book, *Invention et Finalité en Biologie*, does not mention them at all! Yet Darwin (whose famous work on the subject is not even cited by Cuénot) rightly saw that the facts of artificial selection are crucial for the theory of natural selection.

In artificial selection, there can be no question of any finalism at work in the animals or plants concerned, or of any biological purpose apart from the purpose of man. Man has merely used the "chance" variations thrown up by mutation and hereditary recombination, and yet has been able to produce types which are superior to those of nature: the racehorse and the greyhound for swift running, the sheep for wool or the cow for milk, the roses and tulips of our gardens for striking color, scent, form or pattern. And many of these human productions involve co-adaptations of parts (*e.g.*, in the entire build of greyhound for speed) just as complex as many of those which the finalists consider impossible of production through natural selection.

To take some more detailed examples, recent work has shown that domesticated turkeys, although scarcely distinguishable from the wild form in visible characters, after only a few centuries of domestication, differ markedly in a complex of genes responsible for "tameness" and for the capacity to thrive in domestication but not in the wild state. Again, the St. Bernard breed of dog owes its visible peculiarities to exaggerated function of the pituitary, which man has pushed so far by his selection as to be actually pathological. However, by an unconscious and automatic selection of the healthiest individuals, a complex of genes has arisen which shields the St. Bernard breed from deleterious effects; but they appear in some of the offspring when this adaptive gene-complex is broken up by crossing.

AGAIN, it is well known that many bacteria can acquire a resistance to various chemical substances. Recently it has been shown in the U.S.A. that this is not due to a physiological adaptation of all the bacteria in a culture, but to isolated mutation, followed by selection of the mutated strain. In one species, repeated mutations have produced a resistance to a concentration of penicillin many times the normal lethal dose. This phenomenon occurs also in several species of higher animals: in California, scale-insects, which are pests of citrus fruits, have, after a number of years of spraying with certain insecticides, become quite resistant to them—by selection of resistant mutants; and the same has happened with that pest of apples, the codling moth. Before 1925, commercial firms in California had guaranteed their fumigations and offered a second treatment free if the first proved unsatisfactory; after that date, owing to the evolution of resistant strains of scale-insects, they ceased doing so.

In general, as Mather has recently shown experimentally in Drosophila, most characters of biological value to the species depend on what he calls polygenic inheritance—a system of genes all affecting the same character in various ways, and delicately adjusted to produce a balanced result, which shall be not only adaptive in its immediate results, but genetically flexible so that selection can readily alter its effects if required.

Such "harmonious gene-complexes" appear to play an important part in nature. They seem, for instance, to de-

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termine the general vigor and internal adjustment of subspecies (geographical races) as well as of distinct species. A proof of this is seen in the results of the inter-crossing of subspecies in nature. Any natural group, such as a subspecies, will be selected for a harmoniously balanced internal gene-complex. However, since each such system will consist of a large number of genes, mutually adjusted in their effects, it is highly improbable that two different subspecies will have their general internal gene-complexes composed of the same genes. Accordingly, if they interbreed, all kinds of new recombinations of genes will be produced, and the majority of these will inevitably be disharmonious instead of harmonious, producing some degree of physiological maladjustment and decrease of vigor. This is precisely what we do find when two adjacent subspecies meet and cross in nature, for instance in many birds, or in the deer-mice (*Peromyscus*). A hybrid zone is produced which is intermediate in its *average* character, but shows much more variability than either subspecies, owing to recombination; further, the zone remains quite narrow, showing that selection is constantly at work eliminating the large number of less favorable recombinations produced, and preventing the two distinct subspecies from simply blending into one. The most striking example of such hybrid zones is those between the old-world Hoodie and Carrion crows, which extend for over 3,000 miles, but are always quite narrow.

Another striking example of the effects of selection has been given by Ford's recent work on dominance in the currant moth *(Abraxas grossulariata)* and the scarlet tiger moth *(Panaxia dominula)*. By *dominance*, we mean the fact that the so-called dominant gene can entirely mask the effects of its *recessive* partner. Thus in Mendel's original experiments with peas, all the offspring of a cross between strains with yellow and green seeds had yellow seeds. The green character, being recessive to the dominant yellow, was completely masked and did not reappear until the two "green" genes were recombined, which happened in 25 percent of the second generation.

FOR THE EARLY MENDELIANS, dominance was a fact of nature; however, R. A. Fisher came to the conclusion that it was essentially an adaptation, itself produced by selection: dominance is biologically useful because it prevents recessive mutations, which are the commonest type of evolutionary change, and are usually somewhat deleterious, from exerting harmful effects except in the infrequent individuals where they come to be present in double dose. It has also a long-term usefulness, in enabling the species to retain in its constitution a store of recessive mutations, which may later be adjusted and utilized to produce evolutionary change if conditions alter.

Furthermore, genes exist which alter the degree to which other genes are dominant or recessive; and thus Ford has been able to take a gene which normally is neither dominant nor recessive, but exerts an intermediate effect, and convert it into a dominant in one strain of his moths, into a recessive in another. This was accomplished in the currant moth in six generations by selecting for a complex of genes which increased or decreased the degree of dominance of the color-pattern in question; the same result, though less complete, was attained in the tiger moth in five generations.

But, the critics retort, we are not concerned with small adjustments of this type: it is the large and complex adjustments involved in complicated co-adaptations like the eye, in the evolution of new organs like a wing, or in the attainment of a new way of life, like that of land vertebrates from fish, whose explanation we say is impossible, and indeed inconceivable, on a Neo-Darwinian basis.

IT IS naturally impossible to reproduce in the laboratory or the experiment station a process which in nature has taken anything from ten to a hundred million years. However, it is here that theory comes to our aid. Modern evolutionary-genetic theory, on the rigorous mathematical basis provided by R. A. Fisher, Sewall Wright, Kolmagorov, Haldane and others, is proving as exact and as fruitful as modern physical theory. And, among other conclusions, it enables us to say, in the epigrammatic paradox of R. A. Fisher, that natural selection is a mechanism for generating improbability of a very high order. Let us assume that the improbability of a favorable mutation extending, *without selection* to all the individuals in a species, is a million to one (a very low estimate, by the way). Then the improbability of *two* such favorable mutations both extending throughout the species is a billion to one. With ten separate mutations. the improbability becomes astronomical; yet we know that by artificial selection, man has been able to combine many times ten favorable mutations to produce the fowls or horses or wheat he wants. It *is* improbable in the highest degree that the human eye should have arisen "by chance," but with the aid of the machinery for producing improbabilities provided for life by natural selection, the improbability can be and has been actualized.

Before writers or philosophers or physicists rush into print to say that such and such facts of nature are impossible to explain on scientific principles, and invoke the aid of some unknown mysterious will or purpose, they should really take the trouble to understand the workings of the machinery of evolution which life actually has at its command in the shape of natural selection.

Everyone would be critical of a physicist who said that the atomic bomb was impossible, because he was still thinking in terms of nineteenth-century physics and had not troubled to understand the machinery of the atom revealed since Rutherford's time. But many people, including some biologists, have been so used to thinking of biology as an observational and non-quantitative subject that they have hardly become aware of the new methods and new outlook made available in the last twenty years. We now have a general knowledge of the amount and type of new variation (mutation) available as the raw material of evolution; of the various methods by which the machinery for producing change (natural selection) can operate; and of the enormous periods of time (more than a thousand million years) which it has had at its disposal. And as a result, we can today assert, without fear of contradiction, that the argument from improbability has lost whatever validity it once possessed. Indeed, the boot is now on the other foot; for the fact that an adaptation is "incredibly" complex can now be taken, not as presumptive evidence *against* the power of natural selection, but as presumptive evidence *for* its existence and its amazing efficacy.

JULIAN HUXLEY

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The Bandwagon

We see American pilots homeward bound given the assignment of flying planes north to help the Nationalists. Unmarked planes, for we were told to paint the American insignia over with brown paint. Some of the Americans refused to fly the unmarked planes, but were threatened with court-martial. – *Letter from an Army Air Force man in Kunming, dated November 14, and printed in* PM.

Labor strife has returned once again to plague the stock market. – *From Harold Walsh's column in the Los Angeles* Times.

Joseph Koenig, resident manager of the Warwick Hotel in Philadelphia, suggested a more selective method of meting out rooms as a solution for obtaining additional space, declaring himself in favor of the "prestige guest who will be a source of revenue to the hotel," adding that many long-term guests who are "meaningless people" were cluttering up hotels and preventing them from gaining good prospects. – *From the New York* Times.

The Ohioan [Senator Taft], declaring the President and OPA Administrator Bowles were engaged in a "planned policy of inflation," advocated an end for nearly all wartime controls. – *From the Washington* Evening Star.

Fe, Fi, Fo, Fum

Col. Robert R. McCormick, editor and publisher of the Chicago *Tribune*, said today the United States should demand that Great Britain evacuate all her possessions in the Western Hemisphere lest they be used as bases for future attacks against this nation—perhaps with atom bombs. – AP *dispatch from New York.*

Lady, He Needs Pajamas with Feet in Them Like the Kids Wear, And So Do You

What does your husband do that irritates you most of all?

Mrs. Mae A. Youran, Sunnyside, home: "The clicking of the scissors as my husband cuts his toenails in bed makes me squirm. And a couple of the toenails will usually get caught in the sheets and make my back itch all night. He also likes to tickle my feet when I'm half asleep. Sure, I always wake up laughing. Wouldn't you know? I have such a good sense of humor." – *Question and answer reported by Jimmy Jemail, the Inquiring Fotographer, in the New York* Daily News.

On the Home Front

Hear that roar! That's the heart-throb of a mighty DC-4 . . . as American Airlines' huge Flagship streaks through the wind. Air Express enters the Atomic Age! It's 11 a.m. today (1100 in pilot parlance) . . . and this great four-engined monster heads eastward . . . destination London. Aboard is precious cargo . . . direct from the Hecht Co. to the Gallant Wrens of England . . . the very first shipment of Revlon's "Fatal Apple." – *An advertisement in the Washington* Post.

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

Goals for China

SIR: The civil-war-in-China diet that the American press insists on feeding its readers these days is a source of great unhappiness to us Chinese young people, studying and working in the United States. Not only because civil war will mean more years of unprecedented suffering for our loved ones at home, but because conflicting and unreliable reports may cost us the friendship and understanding of the American people.

We believe that too much stress has been laid on the inevitability of internal strife in China and the disunity of the Chinese people. Little mention has been made of the basic and common desire of the Chinese to arrive at a quick and equitable solution of their internal problems and to establish a strong and democratic government ready to assume its share of responsibility for world peace.

We feel, in reiterating the following national goals, that we are representing the heartfelt desire of all Chinese, regardless of party and faction:

1. China must have unity. A divided house cannot have the strength with which to shoulder the burden of internal reconstruction and the responsibility of international coöperation.

2. China must be democratic. She must have a government in which the people are fully and justly represented not only in theory, but in actuality.

3. China must maintain her national sovereignty. She must feel free from the fear of foreign military aggression or economic imperialism. She must build herself up to be worthy of the faith other nations have placed in her as a member of the Big Five. China must be a stabilizing force for peace not only in the Far East, but in the entire world.

4. The new government must observe the principle of people's livelihood. Economic inequality must be supplanted by equality of opportunity and freedom of enterprise.

To bring these goals closer to realization, we believe that the following steps are necessary:

1. Immediate cessation of hostilities between all Nationalist and Communist forces. A definite hour at which both sides will cease firing must be set immediately and be mutually adhered to.

2. Open sessions of the Political Consultative Council. All parties should be represented and given equal opportunity for the voicing of opinion on all subjects of national interest. The assembly must agree to abide by majority decision.

3. The carrying out of all mutual commitments and treaty agreements among the Allied powers in the Far East. In this connection, we feel that the continued presence of American forces in China will tend to stabilize rather than confuse the situation.

4. Should further attempts at peaceful internal settlement fail, we strongly urge that the matter be placed before a final and impartial United Nations arbitration board. There is no use pretending that the situation in China does not have international implications, as both America and Russia will be involved if matters are not placed under control immediately. It is therefore within the province of the United Nations Organization to intervene should attempts at internal settlement fail. We sincerely hope, however, that this last step may not be necessary.

We hope that through the enumeration of a positive and

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concrete program for the settlement of the crisis in China we may be able to restore the confidence of the American public in the peaceful desires of the Chinese people.

Take it from us. China does not want civil war. China does want immediate democracy!

SHELLEY M. MARK, EDWIN KWOH, JANET CHANG,
New York City MAE ENG, WELLINGTON LEE

Comment from Oak Ridge

SIR: The story, "Oak Ridge: Secret City," by Louis Falstein (the *New Republic*, November 12) is excellent. Your correspondent saw the picture of Oak Ridge more accurately in a few days than many people do who have lived here throughout the whole history of the town. Falstein's story is accurate and succinct, and his writing style is pleasing. I am looking forward to seeing additional articles by this correspondent.

FRANCES S. GATES, Editor,
Oak Ridge, Tenn. the Oak Ridge *Journal*

Americans, Dutch and Javanese

SIR: Perhaps I can appreciate more than most readers the acumen and justice shown in the reports and commentary regarding the Indonesian revolts by Bernard Meyer, George Mayberry and Moody (William Vaughn, 1899) and the editors in the issue of October 29.

Today is my first day in the United States after two years in the Southwest Pacific. Most of this time I served aboard the Dutch-owned and officered, American-controlled, Javanese-manned hospital ship, *Maetsuycker*. After our Station Hospital left it a few months ago, and it reverted to the Dutch, the Javanese refused to take this ship out of Sydney harbor; so far as I know, it is still there. This fact, while of interest to the Americans aboard her, is less memorable than the delicate and damned "international experiment" which was the *Maetsuycker* during its many relief voyages between New Guinea, the Philippines and Australia.

I think it was Waldo Frank who said about war that it involves a "rapid simplification downward." The American international policy aboard the *Maetsuycker* was simple: Rule No. 1 was, "No fraternization with the Javanese crew." Unspoken rule No. 1: plenty of parties for the Dutch officers and our own nurses and officers. During one such party I and two others were spending the evening (one of seven) on extra duty for this sole reason: association with a member of the Javanese crew in a friendly game (no gambling) of casino on deck.

I do not know what the Dutch policy on the ship was. I do know that the Dutch officers had a habit of whistling sharply for their Javanese underlings and that this might not have irritated me or even been noticed except for the following personal incident. Dashing across the deck after a disappearing Dutchman, in order to convey to him a message from our CO, I whistled (respectfully enough, I thought) to get his attention. He turned sharply and exploded: "Whistle at your grandmother, but don't whistle at me!"

What the Javanese crew's policy on board was I don't know, either. No doubt they were supposed to be grateful for good wages and a good living, and for being a good distance from their teeming, Jap-infested homeland. I never saw any undignified conduct, any "mistreatment" by the Dutch. The natives' mournful music on deck was never interfered with, except by an occasional blast, over the public-address system, of American jazz. The crew, like the Dutch, could dream of a free and prosperous Java. Once, with sober joy, they greeted barge-load after barge-load of skeleton-framed Javanese, freed from Jap control and coming aboard as patients of the Americans.

Our service on the ship was comparatively easy. So was the coöperation of all hands, from the CO to the least-paid native. So, apparently, is a United States "hands-off policy in Java" to be an easy matter (provided we have supplied enough guns to the Dutch and British). . . .

I don't know whether to thank you or not. You have succeeded, in the October 29 issue, in appreciating the need for light on the terrible and complicated facts and ramifications of the Javanese revolts; and you have succeeded in disturbing, at least for the moment, some memories of the past two years.

Seattle, Wash. BROOKS JENKINS

The White Paper and Zionism

SIR: I was startled to read that you regard the new British policy on Palestine as an abandonment of the White Paper of 1939. It is in fact a reaffirmation of that document.

The White Paper intended to limit the Jews to one-third of Palestine's population and to restrict their economic activity in agriculture. Reference to Palestine's vital statistics shows that the immigration rate of 1,500 a month is designed to keep the Jewish population one-third of the total population of the country. It amounts to the difference in the rate of natural increase between Jews and Arabs, who have a much higher birth rate.

The White Paper is also the basis of the current land regulations in Palestine. These prohibit Jewish land settlement in the 95 percent of Palestine which is not now settled by Jews, who own some 6 percent of the land in Palestine. Sales, leases or mortgages of land or buildings are prohibited, as is purchase of tree crops; water, even a drink of it, technically cannot be bought by Jews.

Your remark that this new policy is praiseworthy in contrast to the "Zionist-Jewish racist national" state is a bit off the track. The British policy is racist. Even a Moslem Jew or a Christian Jew is subject to these limitations, for which no parallel can be found outside of Czarist Russia or Nazi Germany. No Zionist body has ever gone so far in its views on Palestine as did the Labor Party before election. Then some of its own powerful members suggested the evacuation of Palestine's Arabs. The Zionist position is a Jewish state in Palestine, with legislative parity for Jews and Arabs. To accuse Jews of racism, when, since the days of Moses, who married a Negro woman, they have admitted all converts into full membership in the Jewish nation, is just about the top in ignorant malice.

New York City SAMUEL DUKER

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Emory L. King of Ridgefield Park, New Jersey, suggests creation of a Secretary of National Security, ranking after the Secretary of State. This post would provide an answer to the problem of unifying the Army and Navy as well as furnishing the over-all "preliminary preparation of security measures before they come to the final test between the administrative and legislative branches of our government." Mr. King points out that "problems of national defense are of greater magnitude and complexity than the sum of the respective problems of the Army and Navy."

Murray Smith of New York City proposes that the federal government set up a central agency to lend money to veterans, who are in many instances having difficulty raising capital under the provisions of the GI Bill of Rights. He suggests that money might be raised by another bond issue.

The Veterans' League of America sends us a copy of a statement made by their secretary, Leo Johnson, recognizing the work of conscientious objectors during the war, particularly in medical service. The statement also protests the injustice worked by the absence of any provision for those CO's whose opposition to war was not religious, and asks that CO's be released from service at the same rate as other personnel.

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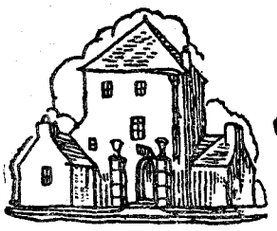

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A Promise Paid

A LONG time ago, Van Wyck Brooks complained that Americans often wrote promising books, but seldom distinguished themselves as authors properly speaking. "The blighted career, the arrested career, the diverted career are, with us, the rule," he said. "The chronic state of our literature is that of a youthful promise which is never fulfilled." Among the few exceptions to his rule—he thought they could be counted on one's two hands—he might already have mentioned Ellen Glasgow. She had shown rather less promise in the beginning than some of her contemporaries, but she had always regarded it as an obligation, a promise *to pay;* and when Brooks made his complaint, in 1921, she was fulfilling it scrupulously, in terms of published novels.

All her best books were written after 1921, but they were written in terms of a design formed many years before. At the age of seven, she had decided to become a writer. At eighteen, she had finished her first novel, put it aside, and started a second, *The Descendant*, which was published anonymously in 1897, when Miss Glasgow was twenty-three. Two years later she was planning a whole series of novels that would deal with the social history of Virginia from 1850 to the present day. She carried out the plan, year after year; and in 1938 she was able to publish a collected edition of her book in twelve volumes, with revised text and new prefaces for each novel.

But this record of her achievements, with its background of fortitude, of tragedies that were never revealed and of long devotion to a single ideal, is rather more inspiring than her books when one comes to reread them. One is likely to decide that, while aiming at Henry James, she fell a good deal short of Howells. She started as a rebel fighting for honest expression, but her rebellion carried her only so far; then she stopped and watched in dismay while her successors went far beyond her. "Come back, come back!" she cried; and when the youngsters refused to listen, she accused them in her later years of literary ruffianism. She had once suffered from the same accusation.

Long ago she had outraged her genteel neighbors by giving legs to her heroines instead of limbs, and having the legs scratched by wet briars. She had outraged them still more by sometimes letting the heroines love out of wedlock and become pregnant; but apparently she could never bring herself to use the word "pregnant"; instead these fallen Virginia ladies would be described as "unfortunate," or as having "become involved in those troubles that overtake women who are more generous than prudent." There was something decorous in her plots as well as in the conversation of her characters. She abhorred violence in art even more than in life; and the result was that what should have been her most effective scenes took place offstage and were reported by messengers, as in a French classical tragedy. Her work on the whole isn't very dramatic or compelling; it is always easy to lay down and sometimes hard to pick up again; yet with all the faults that seem more obvious with the years, it has its own integrity and solidness of execution. You say after reading her again: "This is the truth as she saw it. This is her world without apologies. Whatever her promise was, she kept it."

MALCOLM COWLEY

Books in Review

Pilgrims' Progress

THE PILGRIM SETTLEMENT at Plymouth has probably had more ink spilled over it than any community of comparable size in all Christendom. When the *Mayflower* finally cleared London on September 6, 1620, for its voyage to the New World, there were only 102 persons aboard, and the company had not been here long before it was half wiped out. Mr. Willison[1] has been able to enumerate, in his careful way, only 362 souls landed from the first ships and otherwise arrived in the early years of the colony. New Plymouth was still a pretty small affair in 1691, when it was at last absorbed into Massachusetts and lost its identity as an independent colony.

Somehow these Pilgrim fathers and their families have exercised an appeal to the American imagination far out of proportion to their place in the national story. The tale of this little knot of struggling humans clinging to the fringe of a vast, wild continent is one of heroism, and undoubtedly it has its mythic value. But it is in essentials no different from what went on over and over again on the American frontier for more than two centuries. Perhaps the Pilgrims have won so much attention because William Bradford happened to have a fine flair for writing and left us one of the great narrative documents of our history. Perhaps it is because Plymouth Rock has had so much snob appeal to "that old inbred landlord stock." Possibly Henry Wadsworth Longfellow is primarily responsible. Curiously enough, the modern history of the Pilgrims does not begin until 1856, when the Reverend John S. Barry, a student of Massachusetts history, discovered Governor Bradford's manuscript, "Of Plimoth Plantation," in the library of Fulham Palace on the outskirts of London.

Mr. Willison is obviously very fond of his subjects. He has taken pains to show us that the conventional version of their mores is false: the Pilgrims were, in fact, Elizabethan Englishmen, and what has come down to us is a pale Victorian portrait of them, "a sort of pious charade in costumes out of Grandmother's closet." Mr. Willison has therefore tried to do for them what many recent students have done for their more numerous Puritan neighbors to the north in Massachusetts Bay: he has shown that they could swear, drink, wear bright-colored clothes, and occasionally indulge in sexual peccadilloes. The recent redeemers of the Puritans

[1] Saints and Strangers, by George F. Willison. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. 513 pages. $3.75.

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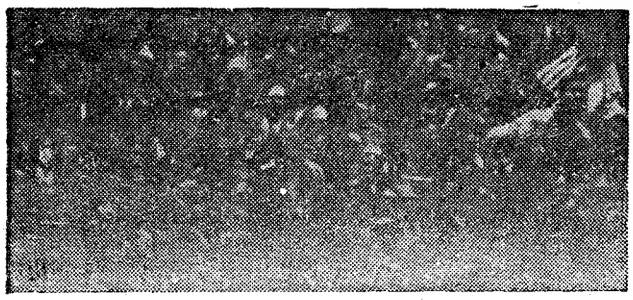

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have taught this lesson so well, however, that it is almost time for someone to promulgate a new heresy by reminding us that they did have a good strain of the bluenose in them and were, after all, mighty strict about the Sabbath.

Many of Mr. Willison's readers will find that the most interesting character in *Saints and Strangers*—except Bradford himself—was not one of the Separatist Pilgrims but an orthodox Anglican, the scandalous Thomas Morton of Oxford and Clifford's Inn, who had known Ben Jonson at the Mermaid, and who maintained for a while a distinctly bohemian community at the very gates of New Canaan where (so Bradford said) he revived the "feasts of ye Roman Goddess Flora [and] ye beastly practices of ye madd Bacchinalians!" Morton and his men held open house for the young squaws of the neighborhood, and there was "dancing and frisking togither (like so many fairies, or furies rather), and worse practises." Morton wrote "lasciviouse rimes" and such fine and meaningless lines as these, which he believed enraged the Pilgrims because they were so "enigmaticall":

> Rise, Oedipus, and if thou canst, unfould
> What means Caribdis underneath the mould
> When Scilla sollitary on the ground
> (Sitting in form of Niobe) was found . . .

Mr. Willison finds that the Pilgrim chronicles "are remarkably rich in the very stuff of human life. They will stand forever as a bright clear mirror of all the hopes and fears that lie closest to men's hearts." Unfortunately a great deal of the stuff of life is the same sort of stuff that makes small-town gossip; inevitably a good deal of it finds its way into the Pilgrim story, arousing in the hearts of some the hope that the tale will soon be done and the fear that it won't. To like it all, you simply have to have a passion for that kind of narrative. Those who do will enjoy *Saints and Strangers*. The story has been skillfully pieced together and told with a measure of humor and insight. Indeed, I imagine that no one since Bradford has done the job so well, and it will probably be many a year before anyone feels tempted to write again the history of the Pilgrims. So, at least, we may hope.

RICHARD HOFSTADTER

Economics of Middle Europe

Economic Development in Southeast Europe, with an introduction by David Mitrany. New York: The Oxford University Press. 165 pages. $3.

IN THE FLOOD of literature on political and economic planning, very often of doubtful value, the present volume has a unique importance. Under the auspices of PEP, London, a group of experts recruited from all the countries involved, under the competent leadership of Professor David Mitrany, have tried to give a comprehensive picture of the states of Southeastern Europe and to propose a constructive program of practical action. The task was a difficult one, because of the incompleteness of statistical material as well as the great diversity of conditions in this region. There are vast differences between the social and economic structures of the western and eastern areas, and also between town and country.

This is the first time that experts of this region have come

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together to discuss the common interests of the various countries and look for remedies in the adverse and sometimes pitiful situation of most of the peoples living there. Political and especially frontier issues were ignored. The group's only concern was to show the possibilities of regional coöperation in practical matters, without entertaining any idea of regional segregation or self-sufficiency. Such an orientation has been, until now, absolutely lacking in the domestic and international policies of these countries.

Of course, the differences were enormous. Austria, with a strong Social Democratic Party and with the great cultural tradition of the Austrian empire (we who attacked the mistakes and backwardness of the former Dual Monarchy —and they were indeed many—only now sufficiently realize how significant this experiment was, both from the point of view of economic progress and of mitigating the clashes of antagonistic national groups); Hungary, a former partner of a world empire and diplomacy; Czechoslovakia, with her abundant national and technical resources after the World War, were more advanced economically and culturally than the Balkan countries or Poland. This difference can clearly be seen from the rich statistical material and sociographic data of the book. In Czechoslovakia and Austria, national income per capita was about $150; in a second group, consisting of Hungary and Poland, it was $100; whereas in the third group, consisting of Greece, Yugoslavia, Rumania and Bulgaria, it was only about $60. This discrepancy was closely connected with the percentage of population employed in mining and industry, including handicrafts.

The authors of the volume drew the picture of the region from six fundamental points of view: nutrition, food and agriculture, industrial development, transportation, marketing and finance. Their main attention was directed to the state of the sorely neglected rural population. There can be no doubt that great parts of the region constituted a hunger area which the Mixed Nutrition Committee of the League of Nations had already characterized as an area where "malnutrition prevails extensively." This is also demonstrated by the high incidence of deficiency diseases in the poorer districts. Using the standards recommended by the United States National Research Council, the production in milk, eggs, meat and fat was found to be woefully inadequate, and in order to reach the necessary hygienic standards, would have had to be increased by 55 percent for the area as a whole. The scope of desirable action is indicated by the fact that in Southeastern Europe, one peasant grows food sufficient for one and one-half persons, whereas in Western Europe the proportion is one to four.

The chief cause of this low standard of living and production is primarily the serious state of agricultural over-population in Bulgaria, Greece, Poland, Yugoslavia and Rumania, and on a smaller scale in Czechoslovakia and Hungary. The authors believe that this over-population averaged at least 20 percent for the area as a whole. They do not think that this situation can be remedied by dividing up the large estates, which had already been carried out in many parts of the region; the imperative necessity is to transfer a considerable portion of the population from agriculture to other occupations.

It may be questioned whether the group is not overstating the thesis that the great estates had been split up before

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JAMES MORGAN READ, in *The New Republic* says: "Every once in a while you come across a book so good that you wish it could be put into the hand of every literate person. This is such a book. It is not only beautifully written; it is a mine of information. . . . Rabbi Steinberg knows where anti-Semitism comes from and he has some good ideas as to what to do about it."

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World War II. In Hungary, for instance, where the land has remained in the same hands for hundreds of years, no serious reform was carried out; the present regime, backed by the Soviets, has now effected a radical redistribution of feudal properties. But the authors are right in emphasizing the terribly backward state of agricultural production. Compared with Western standards, the equipment used per hectare of arable land was a small fraction of that used in Germany or in Switzerland. The preponderance of "dwarf" holdings made the situation even worse, because in many sections, modern implements could not be economically utilized. Likewise, the use of fertilizers was frequently unknown. The system of crop rotation was comparable to that of the Middle Ages.

Therefore, the authors advocate a radical reform in agricultural techniques with a corresponding increase in agricultural implements which would necessitate their rational utilization under a coöperative or some similar form of organization. At the same time, land reclamation, drainage, irrigation, animal breeding and research stations would form part of a long-term investment program.

The picture becomes even gloomier because of the fact that industry produces at nothing like capacity in Czechoslovakia, Austria and Poland. Yet the area possesses great potentialities for industrial development; water power, effectively utilized, could become a source of large-scale organization. A cheap supply of electricity would facilitate the growth of rural industries. But for all these developments, the lack of adequate skilled labor is an enormous handicap. The book makes an impressive appeal for systematic training of the foreman and craftsman. However, this lack of vocational training is part and parcel of a larger problem —the status of general education. Professor Mitrany in his eloquent introduction rightly stresses that "education as it has been provided has on the whole rather weakened the village. It has done little to adapt the peasants to life and farming in scattered rural communities, and it has tempted the abler of the young villagers away to the towns and to the professions." In consequence, the whole region was burdened with a restless intellectual proletariat. Mr. Mitrany makes the interesting comparison that, in 1925, the United Kingdom had 10.7 university students per 10,000 people, and Rumania 6.8, but that by 1932 the proportion had changed to 12.1 and 19.7 in the two countries. This situation explains the mental restiveness of the region, the propagation of half-baked doctrines and the enormous gap between the starving proletariat and the intellectuals in their overcrowded coffee-houses.

The inadequacy of the railway system, the poor quality of the roads (the majority of the roads were unusable during the autumn and winter months and hardly fit for motor traffic at any time) made the economic and moral isolation of the village population even more pathetic. The transportation system was at the mercy either of military considerations or of private interests. Authorizing the building of a road was often a matter of high politics. In fact to understand the wretchedness of the section (and this is perhaps the only point on which the authors are not sufficiently explicit), the enormous extent of graft and corruption must be realized.

The agricultural development of the region and the creation of an adequate technical equipment and transpor-

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tation system, would make foreign capital necessary to a very large extent. However, the defaulting of debtor governments after 1931 shows that only a very small part of government loans was used to increase the productive capacity of the borrowing countries, whereas the lion's share went to accumulate private balances abroad and to pay for non-essential imports. Therefore the authors are correct in saying that to make foreign investments sound, it will be necessary to ensure that capital imports are for productive purposes, and distributed according to a coördinated plan.

This summary analysis of the rich contents of the book (not to mention 26 pages of excellently constructed tables, with illuminating comparisons) shows the amount of conscientious, keen and unbiased research that has gone into it. It seems to me that its translation into the languages of the liberated countries could become an inspiration for the new leaders, provided they are really intent upon abandoning the vicious circle of nationalistic policy. Also, the statesmen of the United Nations should study the conclusions of the authors, because the hotly debated problem whether this region is to become a thoroughly Sovietized territory will ultimately depend on the possibility of creating a new peasantry and a new, efficient, free coöperative system among them. Should the new states be unable to carry out this program, the compulsory grain-factories of the kolkhozes will emerge. And we should not forget that the system of kolkhozes, combined with Russian military supremacy, would inevitably mean a complete Sovietization of the whole region.

OSCAR JASZI

Children and Folk

Lovely Is the Lee, by Robert Gibbings. New York: E. P. Dutton. 199 pages. $3.
The Friendly Persuasion, by Jessamyn West. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 214 pages. $2.50.
And the Field Is the World, by Dola de Jong. Translated by A. v. A. van Duym. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 215 pages. $2.50.

ALTHOUGH one of these books is an account of a sojourn in a remote area of Ireland, another a collection of stories about Indiana Quaker life in the nineteenth century, and the third a novel about refugee children in Africa, all three share a common ground in inspiration and appeal. To give them somewhat more than their just due, they are all the expression of a need to make contact with and draw sustenance from human experience that is individual, spontaneous and not confined to the narrow corridors of modern, urban, adult society. But they are also the result of this need in their audience, and exhibit, in varying degrees, a tendency to exploit it. For the basic dissatisfactions of men and women who lead routinized lives are always exploited by authors to the degree that they fail to clarify them and tend to dissipate them by indulgence. Children and folk are held up on display, and after the purgative response of "Aren't they quaint?" the reader lapses back into self-satisfied assurance of the superiority of his own humdrum, practical mores.

Mr. Gibbings is a talented writer and engraver who likes to remain as far away from civilization as possible and divulge the results of his global wanderings without im-

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prisoning his pen by any set form. In *Lovely Is the Lee,* he turns glibly and gracefully from the habits of birds to the habits of human beings, from speculations on primitive ruins, castles and abbeys to stories of Ireland's warriors, saints and sinners. Yet despite the charm of his temperament and his ability to sustain interest in his verbal meanderings, he leaves one with a sense of quizzical incredulity. Here is a land where fairies and changelings are still as common as pebbles and the very pebbles seem to glitter with legendary poetic significance. "It reminds me of Ter na n-Og, the land of the ever young," the author said to a man in Galway. "It is Ter na n-Og," was the answer. "They have the secret of perpetual youth. Did you ever see such clear eyes except in children?"

But when his time is up, Mr. Gibbings departs without giving reasons and with hardly a regret. Indeed, he apparently never seriously thought about what the values were of life in Galway, Cork and on the Arans as contrasted, for example, with life in London; or what basic satisfactions and dissatisfactions it afforded to all the smiling, genial people (if there were any other kind, they are not mentioned) he met and to himself. Many talented men have become nomads, seeking in the civilized and the uncivilized a heightening of experience or a definition of themselves and their values. Mr. Gibbings seeks neither. He is a tasteful collector of folk pictures and, as is the case with all collector's items, the value of the pictures is diminished by the fact that they are lifted out of any context of vital import.

A similar idyllic quality permeates Jessamyn West's stories of a Quaker family. Jess Birdwell, his wife and six children live comfortably on a farm where he grows such colorful and profitable items as Maiden Blush apples, May Duke cherries and Lucretia dewberries. The tranquil, affectionate life of the Birdwells goes on in an atmosphere of glowing, tidy prosperity, broken by just enough discord to forestall monotony and to supply Miss West with subjects for stories—mostly minor infringements of the Quaker code or trivial domestic difficulties.

In one story, Jess Birdwell's passion for music leads him to conceal a forbidden organ in his attic. When a suspicious Quaker committee comes to call on him and one of his children begins to play on the instrument, he escapes discovery by improvising a thunderous, lengthy prayer. In another, his wife is forced to go to court, contrary to Quaker custom, when Samantha, her pet goose, strays into a neighbor's flock. Only one story starts out with a serious conflict, when one of the sons joins the local militia to fight against a band of marauding soldiers. The battle never takes place, however, and the only violence that occurs is a bruising, slightly comic fall from a cliff. These are, again, folk-pictures, constructed rather than collected, and showing neat, patient craftsmanship. They are extremely well written, at times touching, often irresistibly droll and always much softened by the warmth of Miss West's indiscriminate and unremitting nostalgia.

In *And the Field Is the World,* Aart, a strong, troubled Dutchman who wants to get away from civilization, takes his wife, Lies, in a trailer and heads away from Holland as war approaches. Driving to Marseilles, he picks up seven refugee children from different countries, ranging in age from four to sixteen. This menage ends up in a squalid

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shack on the outskirts of Tangiers, toiling fruitlessly on a parched field. Here Lies and Aart become vague Brobdingnagian figures, while the children, casting off their previous habits and dashing about half-clad and starving, take on the sharp disturbing reality of their release into an amoral, impulsive existence. Like those of Richard Hughes or Jean Cocteau, Miss de Jong's children tend to shatter rather than confirm adult complacency by the sheer intensity of their herd life, as if they shared some magical secret that enabled them to live together without being tamed or yielding up their individuality.

Some of the strongest and weakest points of the novel are concentrated in the character of Hans, the fifteen-year-old son of an anti-Nazi German. Self-reliant and sturdy, Hans challenges the leadership of Aart when he realizes that the latter's urge to continue the exhausting labor on the field issues from a blind, self-destructive rage against a civilization with which he cannot cope. Hans's attempts to deal with it in polyglot Tangiers make some of the best incidents in the novel. But he also serves as the excuse for Miss de Jong to indulge in conventional and contrived anti-Nazi sentiments. The development of the character of Hans as a young crusader weakens the narrative and finally forces it into an artificial conclusion in which Hans is trapped by Gestapo agents as the other children embark for America. Moreover, his last-minute muddled reflections tend to obscure the meaning of the book by implying that the behavior of the children is due to the unnatural impact upon them of wartime brutality. But, as Anna Freud has recently demonstrated, and as most of Miss de Jong's novel confirms, the chaos of war merely gives the natural, primitive impulses of children a greater leeway than society can at present afford.

WILLIAM POSTER

Reporter's Dilemma

Europe in Revolution, by John Scott. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 274 pages. $3.

ONE OF THE CHIEF weaknesses of latter-day correspondents' books is that their authors, having exhausted the well of fresh information, have very little to say. They turn, therefore, either to political interpretation—a pursuit in which they rarely equal the professional political thinkers—or to history—a field in which, at most, they rewrite their subject well enough to make easy reading. Judged by his own previous accomplishments as a foreign correspondent, this new book by the author of the first-class *Behind the Urals* is no exception.

Of all the chapters, only two—on Sweden and Finland—have the freshness of direct reporting. Some others, on Norway, Denmark and wartime Germany, at least contain some second-hand information based on stories of and conversations with refugees, commercial travelers and diplomatic agents. The remainder—chiefly on Russia, Germany and Great Britain—is "old stuff."

Scott's general thesis: that Europe's postwar, post-fascist political struggles are determined by the fundamental transformation of society from capitalist individualism to some sort of socialist collectivism, is hardly new. But his effort to document this thesis—which is easy now compared with the prewar situation—is not altogether fortunate because

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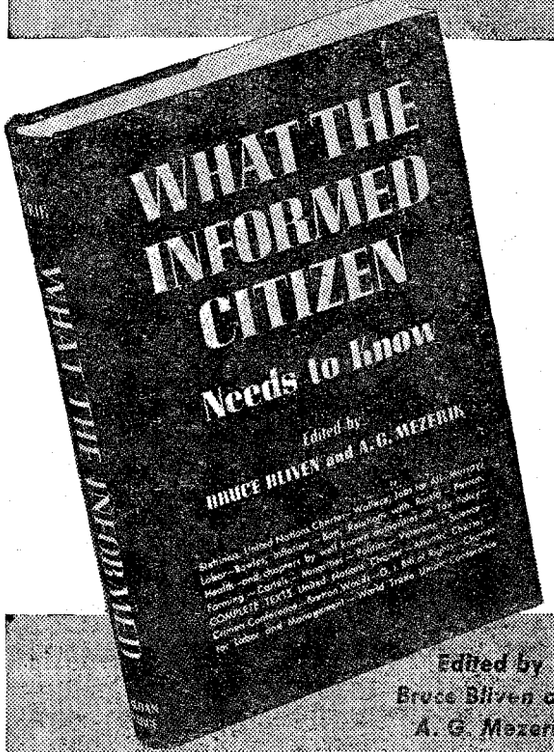

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he does not cover the countries where the process is clearest: France, Italy and the smaller countries of Western Europe. And in spite of some interesting new details, such as the disintegration of the money economy or the dissolution of traditional property relations, Scott's generalizations remain hypothetical rather than factual.

The author gives particular attention to the Communist Parties, their changed theory and tactics, their participation in the underground fight against fascism and their new role as responsible members of postwar regimes. Although he often approximates a proper evaluation, his inferences are raw, often naïve, and certainly do not measure up to the solid appraisal of current Communist policy that is to be found, say, in the Socialist London *Tribune*. H. E.

A Reader's List

LABOR TODAY AND TOMORROW, by Aaron Levenstein (Knopf, $2.75). We are now being told that business must be relieved of onerous wartime restrictions and that labor's prerogatives should be severely restricted. That double standard was very much in evidence throughout the war. We were urged to punish strikers and to limit wages, but business insisted upon price relief and tax concessions. Mr. Levenstein, an attorney with long experience in labor law, relates in this lively volume the turbulent story of wartime labor problems. His book is soberly factual, and perhaps for the first time the questions of wage stabilization, maintenance of membership, labor-management committees and manpower controls are made clear. Throughout the period, labor found the unwelcome shadow of government regulation hovering at its shoulder. And now the shadow begins to assume an uncomfortable reality. Labor, Mr. Levenstein intimates, can only blame itself. Divided, uncertain and grasping at the coat-tails of a nonexistent New Deal, it did not develop a mature and cohesive political and economic program. Failure to establish this most essential basis for a labor *movement*, says the author, "can lead only to unconscious drift in which the state, to end the unendurable conflict [with management], becomes the master of all."

SPENDING, SAVING AND EMPLOYMENT, by H. Gordon Hayes (Knopf, $3). Although Professor Hayes accepts in large part the Hansen-Keynes version of economic dynamics, he prefers to stress the consumption side of the income equation. New investment cannot be a permanent solution for economic unbalance, he says, for it merely adds to the stock of unsold goods. A healthy economy must be able to absorb the vast supply of commodities which can be produced with existing equipment. And that requires a thoroughgoing alteration in our saving and consuming habits. We must begin to think as consumers, says Professor Hayes, rather than as producers. Producer psychology repeatedly creates discrepancies between spending and saving; the dearth of investment opportunity becomes unavoidable. This interesting thesis is bolstered by a sound evaluation of the theories of Ricardo, Malthus, Keynes, Hobson and Say. Professor Hayes, however, fails to present an integrated program of his own. His chapter on recommendations is a catch-all basket which includes fiscal measures to increase spending, social insurance, annual wages, public works, government guarantee of markets and direct distribution of money to consumers. He also insists, and perhaps rightly so, that only government ownership of the major industries

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will assure full utilization of existing equipment. In spite of minor inconsistencies, the author has written an excellent introduction to the basic economic questions of our time.

WHY DO WE NEED NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE? by Ernst P. Boas, M. D. (New York Society for Ethical Culture, 10 cents). A distinguished physician presents here the major facts about the proposal for national health service. The need for medical care is inadequately met in the lower income brackets and sections of the country. Coöperative health insurance, if it supplies good modern service, is too expensive except for the moderately well-to-do. The old system of private practice is not sufficient to maintain and improve health; medical practice must be reorganized. The Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, as revised after expert advice, is not socialized medicine, but an essential method of providing the facilities and meeting the costs of good medical care for everyone, without centralizing its administration or interfering with the freedom of doctors, patients and hospitals—beyond the application of minimum professional standards.

THE EINSTEIN THEORY OF RELATIVITY, by Lillian R. and Hugh G. Liber (Farrar and Rinehart, $3). Popularizers have presented the theory of relativity to laymen who were expected to know nothing more advanced in mathematics than algebra. Many consider such a treatment almost worthless. Einstein's classic work has, of course, also received rigorous explanation by professional mathematicians, but this approach is obviously restricted to a few. The Libers, on the other hand, set out to reach those who have had the equivalent of college training in mathematics. They have done an excellent job in presenting both the Special and General theories. The text is not easy reading, but it is clear and delightful. Hugh Liber's drawings are priceless.

HAHNEMANN, by Martin Gumpert (Fischer, $3). This is the dramatic story of an eighteenth-century Paracelsus, a German physician who founded the medical system of homeopathy. This system is based on the doctrine of similars (*similia similibus curantur*). Diseases are attacked with those drugs which have produced similar symptoms when administered to the person in health—a revolutionary idea. Hahnemann also changed the existing method of dosing with large amounts of drugs and introduced the use of very small amounts—almost traces—of drugs for more effective results. The author, a practising physician, handles his subject with a great deal of sympathy.

MY GREATEST DAY IN BASEBALL, as told to John P. Carmichael and other noted sports writers (Barnes, $2.50). This collection of the biggest moments of 47 of baseball's greatest stars is a knock-out. A lot of them are here: Cobb, Speaker, Sisler, Wagner, Tinker, Evers, Hornsby, Simmons, O'Doul, Cy Young, Mathewson, Alexander, "Satch" Paige, Dizzy Dean, with reminiscences that are the very essence of the thrills—and laughs—of America's favorite sport. Lots of pictures, too.

MOST SECRET, by Nevil Shute (Morrow, $2). Four Englishmen with the best of reasons for hating the Germans, band together to carry out a daring naval operation off the coast of France that has more thrills than a dozen "shockers." Held up till now by the British Admiralty for "security reasons," Mr. Shute's book not only throws a heart-warming sidelight on a little-publicized segment of the Fighting French—the Bretons—but tells an absorbing tale of gallant men and stirring action.

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